National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, COR. EDITORS.

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Pro-Slavery.

EXTRACT from a letter of John C. Calhoun (son of *the* Calhoun), Chairman of the Florida Committee that addressed Kossuth, to the *New York Herald*:

His hasty and brief reply to that address, upon hearing it read, amidst the confusion of an amalgamated crowd of whites, and mulattoes, and blacks, should not, under the circumstances, be regarded by any liberal Southerner as exceptionable. The reception of this negro deputation was at first deemed offensive, not only by myself, but by other citizens of the Southern States, of which Gov. Kossuth was informed. His verbal exposition of his course and of his feelings, and the "card" addressed by him "to the people of the United States," in the *Herald* of the next day, was deemed satisfactory as respected him, by most of the citizens of Southern States here. Those who were not fully satisfied, penned a letter to be delivered to him and to be published; but upon consultation and reflection, it was concluded to suppress it. The facts did not, however, as I conceived, exonerate other persons than Gov. Kossuth, and my opinions and feelings in this regard, were manifested by my course, not necessary to be here referred to. As to our placing ourselves, or as to our being placed by others on the "same platform of equality" with the fugitive law resisting negro deputation, or the less worthy and respectable deputation of white abolition incendiaries, that addressed Gov. Kossuth, I consider the figure of speech used by you as rather fanciful and much too strong under the circumstances. I should feel degraded had I knowingly or unwittingly placed myself upon such platform of equality. Doing an act appropriate and right in itself for me to do, does not reduce me to the level, moral, social, and political, of these of my own or a different race (whom I do not regard as my peers in any respect), because they have done, or may do, a similar act, either from similar or from totally different motives. I should feel humbled if my opinions were placed under the control of others by the adoption of a rule to think opposite to them in all things. I cannot be forced by Gov. Kossuth nor (you must pardon me for saying also) by the Editor of the *Herald*, nor by anybody on earth upon such platform. My own consent is necessary.—Without that consent, and I am positive it never has been given, there can be no descent from the platform of moral, social, political, intellectual, and, I add, also religious and philanthropical elevation occupied by Southern slaveholders, and which is exalted far beyond the reach of the degraded castes alluded to

As to the reaction of the doctrines advocated in the Florida address deprecated by you, as so fearful in its effects upon the country, and particularly upon Southern institutions, I have no apprehensions whatever. At any rate, it would not be felt at the South. The institutions referred to are in no respect an element of weakness in the Southern planting States. In peace and in war—in quiet and in troublous times—in times of prosperity and of adversity, they are a bulwark of strength and safety, impregnable to open assaults from any quarter, however fierce and unceasing. They are eminently conservative as to the South, and with reference to every section of the confederacy. Those who do not understand them and their influences and their tendencies—who do not appreciate their patriarchal character—who do not know the amiability and docility of the African race, the strong attachments and loyalty of the negro, who do not know that these institutions are, with respect to that race and also their protectors and guardians, promotive of morality, virtue, and religion—that in the punishment for most offences, and particularly venial ones, they are more humane and more salutary than the criminal laws and police regulations where the institution does not exist—may be excused for entertaining apprehensions of the character referred to. But no one having knowledge and experience on the subject, can entertain any fears of outbreak, or ought to be heard whimpering or croaking about the danger of servile conspiracy, revolt, and insurrection, or any such peril from the domestic institutions of the South. In the non-slaveholding States, and in the large cities especially, combinations to resist the laws, tumults, outbreaks, riots, mobs and disturbances have frequently occurred, resulting in the destruction of property and loss of human lives. Few such have occurred in the South, and when disorderly proceedings have occurred, they have generally been caused by popular indignation against crime. We never have had negro mobs. But three instances are recollected to have occurred within a century, in all the slaveholding States, of as many as half a dozen slaves conspiring for revolt, and in every instance the loyalty and fidelity of slaves have caused speedy detection, and in every instance also, free negroes, and not slaves, were the originators of the plots. The aggregate of all the negroes who have ever been executed in the Southern States for such crime, does not equal the number that, in the eighteenth century, were, by judicial sentence, roasted alive, before a slow fire, within a quarter of a mile from your City Hall, or hung in chains, for such imputed crime, by the grandfathers and great grandfathers of some of your rankest abolition incendiaries of the present day. The record of these barbarous deeds, and of the hanging, by the same men, of the innocent Catholic priest, Ury, falsely accused of abetting the "negro plot," as it was called, is yet extant. So, also, is that of the importation into this city, in one year, of nearly five hundred African slaves, and of the establishment of the public slave market, at the foot of Wall street.

No such barbarities have ever been perpetrated in the South, as are detailed in the authentic accounts, printed at the time of the executions of those accused of being concerned in the New York negro plots, before the Revolution, nor shall we ever have anything to excite us to such atrocities. No district in any non-slaveholding State can boast the comparative exemption from crime that any agricultural district in any of the planting slave States of equal population can show, nor the same peace, harmony, and good feeling in society. The judicial records of the country prove this. And there is no danger of its being disturbed by servile outbreaks, as our enemies, whose "wish is father to the thoughts," predict. Our institutions have, however, been seized upon as the pretext for insulting the Southern States, degrading them from their rightful equality under the constitutional compact, and placing them under ban and under interdict—for depriving them of their equal participation in territory acquired by their treasure and the blood of their citizens; these institutions are used as the foundation for threats and denunciations, and taunts and reproaches against the South; and it is these things, and not apprehended peril to themselves growing out of the institutions—it is not danger, the result of attempts of their assailants—it is not fear of servile revolt or insurrection excited by them that induce so many of the wisest and best citizens of the Southern States to advocate the establishment of their independence. Why, sir, I assure you I have not and would not have a negro, that in case of foreign war, aye! in case of a sectional domestic conflict, that I would not equip and arm in defence of myself, and of my home, and of his home; and if the crisis should come, what I now state will be verified in tens of thousands of instances in every Southern planting State. It is not any peril to us from the insidious and incendiary efforts of the Abolitionists to excite discontent among the slaves, and to instigate them to rebellion that has aroused the South. Nor is it the mere loss of property caused by the unremitted efforts of the Abolitionists to seduce and delude away our slaves, that they may attain the lofty and happy elevation of the free negro inmates of your poor houses and jails, or by the non-execution of the laws to enforce the constitutional stipulation for their "delivery up," that is regarded as the chief grievance. It is the persistence in denunciation, reproach and insult; it is the deprivation of our equal rights, that is resented. It is a dereliction of principle that has destroyed the confidence of the South in this section. It is because Southern slaveholders feel that the Federal Government is not in anywise their government, but a government controlled by those who are inimical to their "institutions," rights, and interests, and the power of which is exercised to their detriment. Our opponents may do their worst; they cannot impair the strength or stability of southern institutions in the planting States. Nor could they now successfully assail the rights of the States in any way, or insult us with impunity, but for the compromising timidity, and compromising venality and compromising ambition of some of those entrusted with the protection of those rights, and who, when they have abandoned and betrayed them, have the audacity to vaunt of their treason as patriotism! When those States or any one of them shall rear the impregnable ramparts of State sovereignty; when any Southern State shall decide to discard the worthless defence for her equality, her rights, and her honour, of a violated constitution, a broken compact and a prostituted Union; when instead of these she assumes that invulnerable armour, the God of nations hath given to every State wronged by co-federates, upon the shield whereof is inscribed, "Independence;" when the States whose pursuits, habits, "peculiar institutions," sympathies, feelings, and interests are congenial and harmonious, shall separate from those who are incurably inimical to those institutions and interests, and, as by the eternal maxims of right and duty they may, assert and establish their independent nationality; then the full strength of the institutions of the South, then their immunity from all danger, from revolt, will be demonstrated to the conviction of the most incredulous. No rebound from Europe can affect the South, while she has this defence. If there is danger from such "rebound" to any part of the United States, it is in this State, and in this city. The head quarters of anti-rentism, of socialism, of agrarianism, of Fourierism, of vote-yourself-a-farm-ism, of equal division of property-ism, of community of goods, and community of everything else-ism, and of every other ism, are in this State. Here hosts of people from every land—fierce democrats and "red republicans," who are doubtless sincere, but are yet full of the crudest and wildest notions of government, and law, and liberty—are congregated. None of the vagrant theories as to religion, morality, social life, government, politics, property and law, in vogue here, are countenanced South of Mason and Dixon's Line, though Congress has never yet enacted a "proviso" prohibiting the extension thither, nor made any compromise on the subject. The heresies existing here, as in other countries, are the seeds of conspiracy, insurrection, combination, rebellion, civil war, and revolution. The South, it is repeated, is exempt from this danger. It is the conservative power of this confederacy. There are those who ignorantly, or from sheer impudence, talk of the ability of the North, and its readiness to aid in suppressing any servile insurrection in the South. Fools or knaves, we ask not your aid. It is much more likely that, at some future time, if the confederacy is continued, Southern slaveholders and slaves may be called hither to aid the loyal and well-disposed, by precept and example, and otherwise, in the protection of property, and preservation and maintenance of law and order. Certainly we shall not consent to a division of our cotton, rice and tobacco, upon the principles of "equality."

I will not advert to the argument advanced by some, that intervention for Hungary, even if a foreign war is the result, will, by dividing the attention of domestic agitations from the South, restore good feeling and harmony and union, for I have no faith in the value of a mere suspension of the efforts to annoy, insult, and irritate us, and despoil us of our rights by federal power, and which will not restore what we have already been deprived of. Nevertheless with some, this may be a patriotic motion, and I give them credit for it, but it did not influence me. Without new constitutional guaranties for our protection, reaching the causes, so soon as the motives for the suspension cease to exist. the assaults upon us would be renewed with increased violence. It is the extinguishment, the eradication, the extirpation of the causes of the unjustifiable aggressions upon the South; it is the adoption of new constitutional guaranties for the South reaching these causes, not for the mere suspension for a time, or cessation for a season of the attacks, that can restore harmony to, and secure the permanency of, the present Union; and I even doubt the efficacy of such new guaranties beyond a few years, though I would hope otherwise.

THE following article meets with great favour at the South, and is widely copied into Southern journals.

NORTHERN NEGROES.

Nineteen out of twenty of the blacks in the North command no more respect than the same number of sheep, and being left to pursue their own inclinations, they spend their days in idleness and their nights in vice, depending on charity or theft for the necessaries of life. We have travelled hundreds of miles through the South, and can testify to the fact that the slaves live better and more comfortably and happy, in every respect, than our worthless negroes. With here and there an honourable exception, the negroes of the North never aspire to become mechanics, or even respectable labourers—they will always be found doing the lowest drudgery, and all the money they obtain is spent for rum, which prepares them for the poor house, the penitentiary and the prison. They are destitute of good breeding and learning and all ambition to be honest and virtuous. We know that the welfare and happiness of the negro would be consulted, if he were taken from his state of *freedom* (!) and sent to the South, and we doubt whether it would be a moral sin to seize every mother's-son-on-'em and sell them into Slavery (appropriating the proceeds to the payment of our State debt) than it is to let them remain here, half-fed, half-clothed and uneducated, leading a life of misery and destitution. At all events, we are satisfied *something* must be done with them, and that before many years. They must be either cleared out, or the lives and property of your white citizens will be rendered unsafe. The evil is daily increasing, and we may as well meet it sooner or later. The longer we postpone action in regard to it, the more difficult it will be to accomplish the desired end and rid ourselves of the growing evil.

As to the Abolitionists, and "Abolition philanthropy," the latter is a cheat and the former is a set of miserable hypocrites. There is not an honest man among them. They are as great vagabonds as the negroes, and more unprincipled, because they have the intelligence to know what is right, but lack the desire to pursue it. It would be no greater social or national loss to have them sold into Slavery, than the negroes. A thorough going black-hearted Abolitionist will give two dollars towards defraying the expenses of stealing a negro, and one towards purchasing his freedom. He will harbour a fugitive on his premises and make him work until he has earned something worth having and then inform the poor darkie that his master is after him, and he had better 'cut stick'—leaving his funds in the hands of the "philanthropist." The true Abolitionists are the descendants of the TORIES of the Revolution, and are themselves always found on the side of their country's enemies. They are a treacherous, hypocritical, ungenerous and uncharitable set of fanatics, deserving only the contempt of their neighbours, and unworthy the good opinion of all who value the peace and prosperity of their country. We do not in the least misrepresent their character. How unjust is it not, to hold the entire North responsible for the ravings and buffoonery exhibited by a few fools who are better fit for the mad house than they are to enjoy the privileges of sensible citizens?—*Eastern (Maine) Argus.*

SOUTHERN METHODISM.

SOME of the Christians of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are determined to make their conduct and their doctrine tally. Witness the following:

"The Tenth Section of the Methodist Book of Discipline reads as follows:

SECTION X.—OF SLAVERY.

'*Q.* What shall be done for the extirpation of the evil of Slavery?

'*A.* We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of Slavery; therefore no slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station in our church hereafter, where the laws in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom.

'2. When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he execute, if practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives.

'3. All our preachers shall prudently enforce upon our members the necessity of teaching their slaves to read the word of God; and to allow them time to attend upon the public worship of God on our regular days of divine service.'

"At the last General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the delegates of the South Carolina, and some other conferences, to expunge this section, the Conference considering that it was not yet expedient to do so. But the *Southern Christian Advocate* has the following article announcing that the responsibility has been taken by the South Carolina Conference.

'A NEW EDITION OF THE BOOK OF DISCIPLINE.—The South Carolina Conference, at the last annual session, resolved unanimously, that an edition of the Book of Discipline, amended by having the Tenth Section expunged, should be published for circulation within its bounds. We are happy to state that the committee raised for this purpose have succeeded without embarrassment in executing the resolve of the Conference. An expunged edition has been printed—a fac simile of that bearing the imprimature of John Darley, identical in all respects with the connectional edition, with the exception of the necessary alteration on the title page, and the omission of the closing section of the second part—that on Slavery. This section, the fruitful source of so much trouble to the Methodist Church; setting forth a doctrine to which none of us in the S. C. Conferences have ever subscribed; declared in the note appended to it by order of the last General Conference, to have 'long since become inoperative, and ceased by common consent to set forth a practical rule or principle,' is without ceremony discarded from the book as it ought to have been long since.'"

Selections.

THE HEART OF A SLAVEHOLDER.

UNDER this caption the *Journal of Commerce* publishes a private letter from a slaveholder, which, expressing approbation of the course of that paper on the slave question, goes on as follows:

"We who have the slaves are the sufferers, although as a matter of necessity we must have the race as they are. Misfortune has placed me in a situation to feel its bitterness, which I must beg leave briefly to relate to you. I own seven good and faithful slaves; a man, three women, and three children, whom I bought about sixteen years ago; or rather, I bought the mother then, and they have increased since. I was then in prosperity, and ever since, all but the man have been my house-servants. I have become unfortunate in my business, and my creditors must be paid, and the negroes, poor creatures, must be sold, and no living mortal can imagine what I suffer. It is next to death to them to part from me. It is indeed painful. Their children have grown with mine, and they have all been happy and contented; their interest identified with mine. In sickness they have nursed me and mine, and I have ever striven to make their situation comfortable. I could dwell longer in this strain, but I fear trespassing too long on your time. To carry out an idea suggested by the frequent successful appeals which I notice in your paper, I have for some time past thought of trying to obtain your assistance, either publicly or otherwise. It is to beg for the loan of about $2,500 for some years, on the security of these negroes, or get them purchased by the philanthropic of your city, to go there to live, or remain in freedom here.

"It may be said, if they are such good negroes, cannot they get another as good a master? Perhaps they may; but they have tried me, and they are fearful of taking the risk. They are now satisfied, and are part and parcel of my household. The pain is two-fold on me. I feel for them in their distress, and my own sufferings I have also to bear. If you think it worthy of your attention, you can signify it by answering this, when I will give you further particulars; but I could not rest satisfied until I wrote to you to consider and suggest some plan for these poor-fellow beings in distress. If nothing can be done, then I have a consciousness of having tried one more plan to promote their happiness. My own suffering I must bear with all the Christian fortitude I can command."

We ask our readers to consider this letter. Especially if they have read much in our secular journals about the blessings of the slave, and the superiority of his condition to that of our free northern labourers!

This is a frank disclosure of what takes place without notice every day in the slave dominions. A slave is not in law merely, but in fact, an article of merchandise. Indeed in some regions of the South men, women and children are the most active of all saleable property, and we have wondered that they are not regularly quoted in 'prices current.'

Now, it matters not how much a man may love his slave, nor how much he may make of him, nor how tenderly he may treat him, the slave is liable upon any reverse to be seized in satisfaction for debt. Death or bankruptcy scatters the humble faithful creatures. The master above has not at all overcharged the statement of his distress. Who will buy? He cannot tell. The mother will go one way—the husband another (who is the father of the children, by the way? no husband is mentioned in this letter)—the children will go asunder. And then it will appear, that the better they have been treated, the more their affections have been developed, the more terrible is it for them to be torn asunder and sold every whither.

There is no help for it under slave law. They are property. They must take all the vicissitudes of property. Now we do not write in a spirit of unkindness. We would ask the writer of this letter, *Is such a system consistent with the intent and spirit of the Christian religion?* We would solemnly ask every conscientious Christian in the South, *Ought there not to be enacted laws which shall prevent the separation of families?*

We will not dispute about subtle questions, the right or wrong of Slavery, *per se*. It is something more substantial than an abstraction, this question of American Slavery. We ask of Christian brethren in the South, is *such* a system of Slavery right as gives but little protection to the virtue of women? Is it right to rear up men and women without the right or power of reading God's word? Is it right to subject *men* to all the risks and accidents of property? Is it right to separate husbands and wives, selling them apart? Is it right to bring children to the block, and sell families hopelessly asunder?

Are *these things* right? If they are *not*, is it not the duty of *Christian* men to *act* until a law of right shall be introduced?

It is in vain for Christian men to utter despondent sighs; to *wish* that things were different. God has given to his church the truth to be a sword. And if ever there was a solemn call laid upon a church, we feel that it is a call of God to arise, and (we will not say, now, to abolish Slavery, since that might seem too much), bring the truth of the Gospel to bear upon the community, until a change is effected in the legislation, which is now a shame to Christianity, and a disgrace to the very name of just laws.

We very fully appreciate the difficult position of Southern Christians. It is not our wish to make that position more embarrassing. But, no man can be helped, who is not willing first to help himself. So long as they regard free and manly discussion as dangerous; so long as they regard the exertion of moral influence as unfraternal and impertinent; so long as Southern Christians permit, without a struggle to prevent or change it, laws to be passed and executed which cut every relationship in two, which make the very members of their church articles of purchase and sale, which allow the minister of the Gospel to reach out the sacramental bread to a slave-mother to-day, and draw it back heavy with the price of her sale to-morrow; so long as there is apathy, or a silent grief over these things, how can we aid or sympathize with Christian men in the South? We in the North are brought up to believe that every real ill is vincible by the spirit of religion. We do not willingly suffer any evil to go long unsearched, unassailed. One after another we have put down great evils. Others yet remain. But we have our eye upon them. The sword is being sharpened that shall slay them. Meantime, when we pray, as we are bound to do, for our whole country, we cannot forget this tyranny, nor lose our confidence in the power of God's truth to overthrow an evil so gigantic as that of Slavery.

Doubtless it is a far-off pulpit, here in the North, from which to preach; but it is better than no pulpit.

Doubtless it is a subject that concerns southern men *more* than it does us; but it is equally true that it *does* concern us *some*.

Doubtless it would be better that southern Christians should chiefly act in this matter, and nothing would please us so well as to give up our pen and platform to them, and let them do this work which cries out to them from three million slaves. But there must be effort somewhere.—*H. W. Beecher, in the Independent.*

THE MUNIMENTS OF FAME.

WHEN a man gets a reputation, by whatever means, it is his next duty to preserve it. There are divers ways of doing this. Mr. Story, in the life of his father, the late Chief Justice Story, has taken fitting notice of one of them, to which we deem it our duty to call public attention. We remarked the other day, after a cursory glance at this biography, just published by Messrs. Little & Brown, in Boston, that it contained no letters from Mr. Webster, with whom the judge was known to have had a constant and familiar correspondence for a period of nearly thirty years.

We had not then seen the passage which a subsequent perusal of the book revealed to us, in which this omission is alluded to by the biographer. It runs as follows:

"Few measures of importance affecting the permanent institutions of his country, relating to its commercial manufactures, the administration of justice, or to its foreign relations, were debated in Congress during his judicial life, in which the aid of his learning and counsel was not freely sought and as freely given; and the solid foundations of many a constitutional argument on the floor of Congress were laid in secret by him. His entire freedom from all envy and jealousy of spirit, his learning and liberality of view, and his generosity in giving, pointed him out specially as a fit oracle to be consulted, and some of the most distinguished public men of the day availed themselves of his advice and assistance.

"Much of this service, from its nature, as well as from the fact that it was often rendered orally, during personal interviews, must ever remain hidden. *Almost* without exception it has been publicly and generously acknowledged by those who partook of his bounty. It appears incidentally throughout his correspondence and is directly shown in the comments on the judiciary bill of 1818, furnished to Mr. Pinkney, from which extracts have already been made.

"His correspondence with Mr. Webster, would clearly show that services most interesting in their nature and very considerable in extent, in relation to various important public questions, such as the Treaty of Washington negotiated between Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton, the settlement of the North-eastern Boundary, and many other legislative, judicial congressional and official matters were constantly rendered by my father during much of his judicial life. But as I have *been unable to obtain his most important letters to Mr. Webster*, and as Mr. Webster, on my application, has refused assent to the publication *of any of his own letters in my possession*, no other course is left to me but simply to state the fact that such correspondence is in existence, and to offer *as an excuse for its non-appearance that I have vainly endeavoured to procure it.*"

Here follow two extracts, in the original Greek, from the Ajax of Sophocles, beginning with a part of Tecmessa's reply to Ajax, when he threatened to destroy himself, and a part of Teucer's rejoinder to Agamemnon, for his ingratitude to Ajax.

The biographer has seen fit to cover his very natural indignation, as Gibbon did his smut, in the disguise of a learned language, out of tenderness, we presume, to a professed friend of his father. We respect his motives, and honour his forbearance. It is due, however, to such magnanimity, that it should be appreciated as well by those who do not read Greek as by those who do. We, therefore, give the English of the quotation, and would observe, *passim*, that we hope Mr. Webster has no enemy who would desire to give him a fairer or a harder hit:

Tecmessa.—"Believe me, it is proper that his memory should not fail any man who has received any "gratifying favours from any source whatever; for "it is kindness that ever begets kindness, *but that* "*man cannot be well born from whom the recollection* "*of benefits melts away.*"

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Teucer.—"Alas, how soon does the grateful remembrance of the dead fade away from among "men and desert them; since this man, for whom "thou didst toil with thy weapons, risking thy life, "no longer even in trifling matters remembers thee, "Ajax. All this is now passed by, and treated with "scorn. Oh, thou that has just spoken many and "profitless words, forgettest thou the time when "Ajax here once came and delivered thee, when "pent up within your lines, already routed and "ready to be crushed?"

Mr. Webster's refusal to comply with Mr. Story's application, may admit of three explanations: 1st. His own letters may contain sentiments which he does not now entertain, or which, if published now, might embarrass him politically. 2d. Judge Story's letters may contain evidence of the Secretary's obligation for past favours, of which he thinks it important to his fame that the world should remain in ignorance; or, 3d. He may desire to reserve his own letters for future publication, that the profits may enure to himself.

It is difficult to say which of these reasons, under the circumstances, would be most discreditable to a person of Mr. Webster's eminence and pretensions.—*Evening Post.*

"HONEST" JOHN DAVIS.

THE venerable Senator from Massachusetts, who represents the conservatism of the State in the Senate of the nation, has at last found his voice. The cogitations of a year and a half upon the compromise measures, and especially the Fugitive Slave Law, have enabled him to make up his mind, and last week, he ventured in the Senate upon an equivocal expression of his views and opinions, which have so long been undergoing his elaborate process of formation. It was very kind and considerate on the part of our grave and dignified Senator, to shut the door of the stable within the brief space of eighteen months from the time the horse was stolen; and we doubt not he will receive, as he deserves, the commendations of all the hunker presses in the State, for his *prudence* and *discretion* in forming no *hasty* conclusions, but possessing his soul in patience until the present time. It was fortunate for all those who were especially anxious to know what Mr. Davis thought of the compromises, that the little Mississippi hangman left to the Senate of the United States, ere he took the gubernatorial chair of his own State, the precious legacy of his "resolve" declaring the measures of adjustment passed by the last Congress, to be a *definite settlement* of the questions growing out of domestic Slavery. But for this, his constituents and "the rest of mankind" would never have known what were the views of "honest" John Davis upon those measures of policy, even so far as they are revealed in the misty speech which he has recently made. We say *misty*, because we think it would puzzle the most astute intellect to tell, from perusing it, just what the honourable Senator's views are. We have given it a careful perusal, and consider it an excellent specimen of that kind of logic that leaves one in doubt what its particular drift is, or whether it really has any. It contains some affirmations and some negations it is true: but what it really affirms, or what it denies, is not so clear.

For instance, Mr. D., while elucidating the doctrines which he says are laid down in the Constitution, as regards the personal liberties and rights of citizens under that instrument, seeks to convey the impression that the Fugitive Slave Law is unconstitutional. His admirers and friends quote him as taking that ground. The *Boston Courier* and the *Worcester Transcript*, in their version of his speech, affirm that he said "he did not regard the Fugitive Slave Law as a suitable law. It was an unsuitable law, *and some of the great fundamental principles of the Constitution were disregarded in its provisions.*" In the *full* and *authentic copy* of his speech, published in the Boston *Atlas* of Monday, we look in vain for such a plain and frank avowal of his sentiments. In that speech, as published in the *Atlas*, Mr. Davis is reported to have said as follows. "Without dwelling upon this subject (the Fugitive Slave law), I consider this law as unnecessarily stringent in its character, as not regarding *sufficiently* in its provisions, the leading and fundmental principles of the constitution, THOUGH I DO NOT MEAN TO SAY IT IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL IN ITS PROVISIONS, yet it has not that respect for these fundamental principles, which the importance of the subject matter seems to demand, and which a fair interpretation of the provison requires."

This is like the speech of a certain worldly-minded deacon we have heard of, who, to keep the peace of the parish, was willing to say "good Lord" or "good devil" just according as he had about him the sober and serious, or the drunken and profane youngsters of the village.

We should be glad to have Mr. Davis or any of his friends show us the way in which a law "which disregards the leading and fundamental provisions of the Constitutions," as he says it does, can at the same time be constitutional, as he in the same breath, affirms it is, by declaring emphatically, that he does not mean to say it is unconstitutional in its provisions. The speech was evidently made for Bunkam, there is a streak of *dough* running all through it; from beginning to end.

The fate of Mr. Winthrop has not been to our astute Senator a sufficient warning. He evidently feels that something must be done to save his own seat, so soon to be vacant, for the next term, and so with less than his usual shrewdness, he now starts upon the same course, riding *two hobbies* at once. How he will succeed, remains to be seen—*Worcester Spy.*

HOW 'AUNT NANCY' GOT FREE

THE *Voice of the Fugitive* tells the following story:

A merchant from the north, who was in the habit of visiting New Orleans every year for the purpose of buying cotton from a rich planter, became much attached to an old but interesting slave, who acted in the capacity of a house-servant. The merchant's wife, who sometimes accompanied her husband to the South, had no sympathy with slaveholding, and she therefore ventured, one day, when this old and faithful slave was alone, to ask him if he would not like to be free? His answer was, 'Yes, Madam.' Nothing more was said on the subject during a period of two years, in the course of which time the slave threw himself in the way of the good lady whenever an opportunity presented itself, hoping to hear her say something more to him about freedom. At length one day, when she saw him looking very earnestly at her, she asked him if he remembered the question that she had asked him about two years previous. The reply was, 'Yes, Madam, I have thought of it more than a thousand times.' He said that he wanted to be free, but knew not how he should obtain it. She then told him that if he would do as she directed him, that there was a chance for his freedom; when he joyfully replied that he would follow her directions. She told him that he must go to a certain store in the city every day at a certain hour if he could, where it would be made known to him what he should do to obtain his freedom. He attended accordingly at the time and place and was carried through a regular course of discipline to fit him for the enterprise. He was dressed in female attire and was commanded to answer to the name of Aunt Nancy. The lady would then put her infant child in the arms of Aunt Nancy, and make her take care of it. About half an hour was spent with Aunt Nancy in this way for several days, until she was fully initiated into the character she had to perform,

At length the time arrived when the merchant and his family were to return to the north on board of a certain steamboat. Aunt Nancy was notified to be at the store that morning about nine o'clock. It happened on that morning that Aunt Nancy had so many little duties to perform that she was unable to keep her appointment until after nine o'clock, but, fortunately, from some cause or other, the boat in which they were to sail, did not get off until after 10 o'clock. When the slave arrived at the store, they were anxiously waiting ready to dress him in female attire. They had also provided implements with which to shave him. His transformation being completed, and having put on a pair of lady's shoes, Aunt Nancy's protector told her to take the child and follow them to the boat. When they reached the boat the last bell was ringing.

After the gallant Captain had conducted the lady on board, he offered his hand to Aunt Nancy to assist her in getting on board with the child; but the lady fearing that the Captain might have his suspicion aroused by the roughness of Aunt Nancy's hand and her masculine appearance, she told the Captain not to mind Aunt Nancy, as she could get on with the child alone. When they got snugly on board, a double state room was procured, a part of which Aunt Nancy was made to occupy with the child. The ladies on board appeared to think much of Aunt Nancy and the child. When they neared the mouth of the Ohio River, Aunt Nancy's apparel was changed, and she was transferred, in her proper costume, to another boat which was bound for St. Louis, the Captain of which was strictly bound to keep watch over her, under pain of forfeiture of her worth should she elude his vigilance, and to carefully deliver her into the keeping of a specified individual, all of which he agreed to do with fidelity. Arrived at St Louis, she was duly handed over to the gentleman to whom she was consigned, and, by previous understanding, transferred into the hands of other friends; from them to others in Illinois, from whence by the spirit of freedom she was wafted to Canada, where she has donned, substantially and literally, the habiliments of true manhood as an independent freeman and thorough going British subject.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

A SCENE IN BOSTON.

A coloured girl, eighteen years of age, a few years ago escaped from Slavery at the South. Through scenes of adventure and peril, almost more strange than fiction can create, she found her way to Boston. She obtained employment, secured friends, and became a consistent member of the Methodist church. She became interested in a very worthy young man of her own complexion, who was a member of the same church. They were soon married. Their home, though humble, was the abode of piety and contentment. Industrious, temperate, and frugal, all their wants were supplied. Seven years passed away. They had two little boys, one six, and the other four years of age. These children, the sons of a free father, but of a mother who had been a slave, by the laws of our Southern States were doomed to their mother's fate. These Boston boys, born beneath the shadow of Faneuil Hall, the sons of a free citizen of Boston, and educated in the Boston free schools, were by the compromises of the Constitution admitted to be slaves, the property of a South Carolinian planter. The Boston father had no right to his own sons. The law, however, had long been considered a dead letter. The Christian mother, as she, morning and evening, bowed with her children in prayer, felt that they were safe from the slave-hunter, surrounded as they were by the churches, the schools, and the free institutions of Massachusetts.

The Fugitive Slave law was enacted. It revived the hopes of the slaveowners. A young, healthy, energetic mother, with two fine boys, was a rich prize. She would make an excellent breeder. Good men began to say, "we must enforce this law; it is one of the compromises of the Constitution." Christian ministers began to preach, "the voice of law is the voice of God. There is no higher rule of duty. We must send back the fugitive and her children, even though we take our sister from the sacramental table of our common Saviour."

The poor woman was panic-stricken. Her friends gathered around her and trembled for her. Her husband was absent from home, a seaman on board one of our Liverpool packets. She was afraid to go out of doors, lest some one from the South should see her, and recognise her. One day, as she was going to the grocery for some provisions, her quick and anxious eye caught a glimpse of a man prowling around, whom she immediately recognised as from the vicinity of her old home of Slavery. Almost fainting with terror she hastened home, and taking her two children by the hand, fled to the house of a friend. She and her trembling children were hid in the garret. In less than an hour after her escape, the officer, with a writ, came for her arrest.

It was a dark and stormy day. The rain, freezing as it fell, swept in floods through the streets of Boston. Night came, cold, black, and tempestuous. At midnight her friends took her in a hack, and conveyed her, with her children, to the house of her pastor. A prayer-meeting had been appointed there, at that hour, in behalf of their suffering sister. A small group of stricken hearts were there assembled. They kneeled in prayer. The poor mother, thus hunted from her home, her husband far away, sobbed, in the bitterness of her anguish, as though her heart would break. Her little children, trembling before a doom, the enormity of which they were incapable of appreciating, cried loudly and uncontrollably. The humble minister caught the contagion. His voice became inarticulate through emotion. Bowing his head he ceased to pray; and yielded himself to the sobbings of sympathy and grief. The floods of anguish were unloosed. Groanings and lamentations filled the room. No one could pray. Before the Lord they could only weep. Other fugitives were there, trembling in view of a doom more dreadful to them than death.

After an hour of weeping, for the voice of prayer had passed away into the sublimity of unutterable anguish, they took this Christian mother and her children, in a hack, and conveyed them to one of the Cunard steamers, which fortunately was to sail for Halifax, the next day. They took them in the gloom of midnight, through the tempest-swept streets, lest the slave-hunter should meet them. Her brethren and sisters of the church raised a little money from their scanty means to pay her passage, and to save her, for a few days, from starving, after her first arrival in the cold land of strangers. Her husband soon returned to Boston to find his home desolate, his wife and his children exiles in a foreign land. These facts need no word-painting. I think that this narrative may be relied upon as accurate. I received the facts from the lips of one, a member of the church, who was present at that midnight "weeping meeting," before the Lord. Such is Slavery in Boston, in the year 1852. Shade of Calhoun! Has the North nothing to do with Slavery.

JOHN S. C. ABBOTT.

BRUNSWICK, Me., Jan. 1852.

—*New York Evangelist.*

LETTER of the British Consul at Charleston, S. C., GEORGE MATHEW, to the Governor of that State:

H. B. M.'s CONSULATE of N. AND S. CAROLINA,
Charleston, Jan. 5, 1852.

SIR: I have the honour to acknowledge your Excellency's letter of the 13th ult., notifying the transmission of my communication of the 10th to the Legislature.

The daily papers have subsequently made known to me the "Report" of the Select Committee to the House of Representatives—the adoption of the "Reports" and "Resolutions" presented to them by both branches of the Legislature—and the indefinite postponement of the matter.

The ensuing proceedings respecting my communication, and with regard to me in my official capacity, require no comment at my hands.

While no personal considerations will ever deter me from the unhesitating performance of my duties (of which I know, and have no wish to outstrip, the limits), I trust always to avoid giving just ground of offence, by tone or manner.

For my acts, I am, I believe, legally amenable to the Courts of the United States, and to them exclusively.

I need scarcely remark to your Excellency, that the time when the subject of the coloured laws, mooted by my brief correspondence of last session, was "under discussion," when adverse resolutions had been offered, and when legislation was "pending," presented an opportunity the most appropriate, and the most consonant to usage and etiquette, for submitting the arguments I judged most likely to conduce to the amendments of the enactments, to which it had been my duty to invite attention.

In now addressing your Excellency, I am desirous of noticing briefly one or two points in the Reports of the Select Committee, and of giving, with your permission, publicity to my remarks, as the sole way open to me of removing a very erroneous impression of the extent of the demand made, and the nature of the course taken, on this occasion.

I apprehend that it was competent to Her Majesty's Government either to press their just reclamations upon the authorities at Washington—to direct legal steps on the matter there or here—or to authorize a representation by the British local functionary, against a law affecting the privileged commerce, and the liberties of British subjects, in a part of his Consular District, to the authorities from whom it emanated—and to take such ulterior steps by legal or Federal appeal, or by retaliatory measures, in the event of non-success, as they might think fit.

The prescribed duties of a British Consul have been correctly quoted, as follows:

"In the event of any attempt being made to injure British subjects, either in their persons or property, he will uphold their rightful interests and the privileges secured to them by treaty, by due representation in the proper official quarters," and "if redress cannot be obtained from the local administration, or if the matter of complaint be not within their jurisdiction, the Consul will apply to the Consul-General, or to H. M.'s Minister, if there be no Consul-General in the country where he resides."

I find that instructions of a precisely similar nature are given to the Consuls of the United States.

The choice of the last named course, which involved no connection with the question of the position of a State of this Union, with regard to "compacts" or "negotiations" with a foreign power, evidenced, I conceive, under the existing circumstances, marked sentiments of consideration, for the Federal Government and for the State, which the result has not shown to have been reciprocated by the latter.

The pointed moderation of Great Britain, in awaiting from year to year, as the records of this office amply prove, from the good faith, the friendly sentiments, and the wiser policy of South Carolina, the voluntary alteration of her laws, merited, it will be conceded, from a State so largely benefitted by the liberal basis of British commerce, higher appreciation, and should not have been made a subject of taunt.

It would be inferred from the language of the "Reports," that a demand had been made upon the State, to "surrender" and to "yield," in toto, the laws respecting free persons of colour—but my letter of the 10th specially points out (without prejudice to the full rights of Great Britain) an amendment suggested by the press (restricting coloured persons to their vessels, except when under a police-pass on shore, and requiring bond from the masters for their good conduct and departure), by which the chief ground of national offence, and of commercial injury and injustice, would have been removed, without possible danger to the peace of the State.

In 1843, in pursuance of a "message" from Gov. Hammond, a bill upon a similar basis was brought in by Mr. Hunt, Chairman of the Committee on Federal relations, who is stated to have ably advocated it, and was supported "energetically" by Mr. Memminger, who is reported to have "exposed the insufficiency of the act of 1835, to accomplish the object intended." *This Bill was carried in the House by no less than* 68 *to* 32, but was unfortunately defeated in the Senate.

Judge O'Neall, in his recently published digest of the negro law of South Carolina, states:

"The 1st, 2d, 3d and 5th sections of the Act of 1835 are to my mind, of so questionable a policy,

that I should be disposed to repeal them. They carry with them so many elements of discord with our sister States, and foreign nations, that unless they are of paramount necessity, which I have never believed, we should at once strike them out. I am afraid, too, there are many grave constitutional objections to them in whole or in part."

To the opinions already quoted, of Mr. Calhoun, and of Mr. Justice Johnson, might be added many others, but it is sufficient to have shewn to your Excellency that the reclamations recently made, in an unfeigned tone of good will and courtesy (and so differently responded to), might have been satisfactorily met, by a measure which one of the ablest Governors of South Carolina, and two-thirds of the House of Representatives, believed would tend to strengthen, not to impair, the real efficiency of the law, and which conceded less than the most eminent jurists of the State deemed just and wise.

It is very difficult, under these circumstances, to avoid being impressed by the idea that some ulterior object, or concealed cause, must have influenced a result so hostile to Great Britain, which my extended communication with members of the Legislature, and the opinions I have heard generally expressed, led me to expect would have proved entirely different.

With a population of nearly 9,000 free persons of colour, and with the constant transit of travellers from other States and countries, it cannot be imagined that any slave in this city or State is uninformed of the existence of negro freedom, or of the geographical limits of Slavery, nor do I doubt, from your Excellency's benevolent and wise views, that you will concur in the opinion that it is by kindness and by security against ill-treatment, and not by evidently futile attempts to perpetuate ignorance, that the bondsman may be found resigned to the state in which Providence has placed him.

I have had, on the other hand, opportunities of knowing how much ill-will, and what deep irritation, is caused among the white part of a crew, whose coloured members have been carried to a prison, and who are consequently assisted by slave labour, at great cost, in unloading and loading their vessels.

Repudiating, then, as I do, as wholly unworthy of credit, and as of suicidal policy, the allegation that the owners of wharf and dock labourers have attempted to exert an influence in this matter, repudiating, too, the insinuation that it was feared to concede to some, what it was wished not to grant to others, I am at a loss to understand the aim of those who would desire to maintain laws (were their legality even admitted) which not only are shewn, in their present shape, to be unnecessary, but which might be productive of the very danger they are designed to preclude.

On Saturday, and again on this very day, the spectable has been exhibited in the streets of Charleston, of unoffending British seamen taken forcibly from the protection of the flag of their country, and marched along to a jail.

Your Excellency may believe me, that exhibitions of this nature, were it possible to suppose their continuance, will not tend to the benefit or to the honour of this State.

I abstain from commenting upon the great and evident advantage that the virtual admission that laws so offensive and so repugnant are needful to the maintenance of the institutions of S. Carolina, must give to the opponents of these institutions.

I entertained the hope, Sir, that this subject would be treated as one of friendly consideration and concession, more than as a question of disputed law, or litigated rights; but I find that the Select Committee have chosen to meet it solely upon this basis, and the Legislature, by passing the Reports and Resolutions annexed to them, have become parties to the views and statements conveyed by them.

The "Report" and "Resolutions" passed by the Senate are based upon the alleged support of an opinion of Chief Justice Taney, of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Report adopted (with two similar Resolutions) by the House states that any question of the validity of the law "should be abandoned or referred to the Judges of the land, many of whom have already spoken with authority upon the principle involved."

I am far, Sir, from doing the members of the Legislature the gross injustice of doubting but that they would therefore, individually and collectively, be guided by the law of the United States, to which they have chosen to refer, should the subject, in accordance with their desire, be brought under its cognizance—and that they would in every way facilitate a full and fair hearing of the actual legal point at issue, before the high tribunal to which they have alluded.

The question of the privileges, under the Treaty of coloured British subjects arriving from Europe, would seem to be conceded in the "Report" to the Senate, except upon the ground that in their case, no real commercial impediment arose—for it admits that if the effect of the law was such "as seriously to obstruct or embarrass the intercourse which the Treaty was intended to sanction and secure, this would be a fraud on the Treaty, and might justly be complained of as such."

I cannot assent to the principle that either a country or a component of a country is thus entitled to interpret at pleasure the plain words of a Treaty, or to be the judge of what is, or what is not, of embarrassment or obstruction to other nations.

The "serious obstruction" to the trade from the West Indies is not denied; but, the claim of Her Britannic Majesty's subjects in those Islands, to especial protection, under the Treaty, and under the laws and Constitution of the United States, appears to have escaped the notice of the Select Committee. If it exists, the illegality and injustice of the law must be, on their own showing, admitted by the Committee and the Legislature.

Unless the last clause of the first Article of the Treaty, quoted in my letter of the 10th, viz., "And, generally, the merchants and traders of each nation, respectively, shall enjoy the most complete protection, and security, for their commerce," can be proved to be compatible with the imprisonment of the master and crew of a trading vessel; and, unless it can be maintained that the proclamation of the President of the United States, of October, 5th, 1830, declaring that the Ports of the United States are "open" to British vessels, from all ports of entry in the West Indies, from the Bahamas, and the Bermudas, and that "they shall be admitted with their cargoes, subject to no other or higher duty of tonnage, or impost, or any charge of any description whatever, than would be levied on vessels of the United States," is not grossly violated by a law which directs, under certain circumstances, the sale at auction, as slaves, of the mariners (who are often owners, on shares) of the vessel and cargo so ordered to be admitted; it will be clear that Her Britannic Majesty's West Indian subjects are equally shielded, both by the Treaty, by the laws of the United States and by the Constitution, which vests in the Federal Government the exclusive power of regulating commercial intercourse.

If each State of this Union could legally, under the plea of police regulations, neutralize any part of a Treaty—the Constitution of the country, which declares that a Treaty shall be "the supreme law of the land," would become a mere name without meaning, or power, and the United States would be rendered incapable of entering into any Treaties of commerce, or of alliance with foreign nations. The State that this year obstructs commerce with the West Indies, might next year pass an act against the admission of emigrants from Great Britain, Ireland, or Germany.

Impediments, indeed, have already been attempted to be placed on Irish emigration.

It will probably not be unknown to your Excellency, that the Supreme Court of the United States has recently, upon the words of the Treaty with Great Britain, declared null and void the acts of two States of the Union, imposing a tax upon emigrants, although to be used for unobjectionable purposes.

If this anomalous power were vested in the separate States of the Union, its exercise in the present instance should have been by total exclusion from "entry," and not by offensive penalties when entered, and exceptions should have been made in regard to vessels in distress; for I appeal without hesitation to your Excellency, if laws which direct a coloured mariner, wrecked upon this coast, and recognised to have been twice previously in these ports, to be sold as a slave, are not repugnant to humanity and civilization?

But that eminent and lamented statesman, Mr. Calhoun, whose official opinion has, even on a point of the law of nations, proved in this case powerless with the Legislature of his native State, has emphatically declared that no such power, at variance with Treaty stipulations, can exist.

The Committee, in their Report, have (unintentionally, I feel assured) fallen into a grave error, and have founded upon it an argument of weight.

No "local law" of the Bermudas, unparticipated in by the whole British Empire, could have been alleged, in 1835, against a demand for the restoration or value of American slaves, stated to have been landed in that year from a vessel in distress.

The Imperial Act of Abolition declares that "on and after the 1st day of August, 1834, Slavery shall be, and is hereby, utterly and forever, abolished, and declared unlawful, throughout the British Colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad."

In the case of the Creole, the vessel was taken possession of, and restored to the owners, but the British law not acknowledging Slavery, the authorities could have no legal power to pursue and give up the slaves, who had all gained the shore.

The law of Jamaica, of the Bermudas, or of any other country under the British crown, cannot, with regard to foreign nations, vary from the law of England: The law of the British Empire, and the law of the United States, are the laws referred to in the Treaty, as the "Laws and Statutes of the two countries respectively."

I may add here, that Chief Justice Taney's legal opinion will be found on record, when Attorney General (on the 6th December, 1831), intimating to a British proprietor of a slave that the treaty between the two nations did not give him a right to demand the restoration of his slave from the United States.

The point, therefore, attempted to be urged, of the freedom of American slaves on British territory, is wholly alien to the question.

With regard to a further statement in the Report to the House, I may observe, that until the passing of the law complained of, free coloured persons notoriously came without hindrance in British vessels to the State, and in instances settled therein—and so far from the British Government having official notice, in 1827, of the intended continuance of the law, it had been communicated to them from the proper federal authority, that the law was "null and void, for being against the Treaties, Laws and Constitution of the United States."

I venture to entertain no doubt of your Excellency's enlightened personal sentiments on this subject, and I have now, I believe, laid proof before you, that in the opinion of many of the citizens of the State, the most distinguished for talent and patriotism, the present laws, affecting a class of H. B. M.'s subjects entering the ports of this State for legitimate commerce, are illegal, impolitic and unnecessary. There is yet, Sir, another cause, which must insure their abrogation: it is that public opinion throughout the United States—in the South as in the North—is evidently opposed to it.

Look, Sir, at the present state of the civilized world, under the influence of this greatest human power, look at the future of this great country, whose progress, under firm and wise guidance, can only be retarded by unworthy jealousies of other nations, or by such acts as these, and judge whether a system of legislation which, at best, but serves to show the desire of avoiding, to the injury of others, the due trouble and cost of an effective police against disturbers of the peace, can or ought to be maintained.

A nation must, at all risks, in the present day, enforce her Treaties within her boundaries, or she justly incurs a lasting moral fall in the esteem of civilization.

I have full faith in the government of the United States to carry out, with the universal support of the country, the stipulations of their Treaties with foreign nations, in their integrity, and to enforce equally, in all parts of the Union, the laws and Constitution of the land. But permit me, Sir, to hold fast to the hope that the Legislature, and the people of this State (the sentiments of the majority of whom I do not conceive to accord with this peremptory and hostile rejection of the representations made by Great Britain), will, on more mature consideration, unite in condemnation of the existing law.

I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of personal consideration,

Your Excellency's ob't serv't,

George Mathew.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* Sydney Howard Gay, *New-York.*

†‡† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* Francis Jackson, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* Sydney Howard Gay, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1852.

INTERVENTION.

There is a great deal of nonsense talked about Intervention. The mission of M. Kossuth to this country on this express errand has opened the floodgates of our national hypocrisy, and it comes upon us like a deluge. People really seem to think that the American people are really in danger of doing a generous action, and that they must be earnestly dissuaded from their rash enthusiasm. One would imagine that M. Kossuth was likely to do what Hotspur found so hard, viz, to "stir up a dish of skimmed milk to so honourable an action," as running a risk for a principle. Mr. Clay weeps over the possibility and entreats that we may be left the burning and shining light we now are to the nations of the Old World. M. Kossuth, whatever else he may be, is not a fool, and he must have despised in his heart the man whom he thought it worth his while to flatter *à l'outrance*, and the great masses that he fitly represents. The acting President, orators of all shades in both Houses of Congress, the leading newspapers of the two great parties, think this an occasion for their interposition, that this knot is intrinsecate enough for them to descend "*ex machina*" to unloose it. Just as our priests, politicians and praters seem to labour under the hallucination that the American people are just dying of *mauvaise honte*, and that it is their especial mission to breathe into them a reviving good opinion of themselves. And M. Kossuth appears to have understood the nature of our national complaint so well that the doses of flattery administered by Fourth of July orators and Thanksgiving sermon-writers look infinitesimally homœopathic by the side of his enormous *boluses*—far too big for any but a Yankee swallow.

Now, why should not this country interfere when a proper case arises for her Intervention in Europe? She is the Model Republic, the only genuine article of the name, and why should she not encourage the manufacture abroad whenever it is attempted in earnest? The Allies, with England among them, intervened to restore the old state of things in France, and to discourage Revolution everywhere. Louis Napoleon intervened to put the Old Scarlet Lady again on her *seat* upon the seven hills. Nicholas intervened to maintain the religion of Absolutism in Austria and Hungary, and is ready to march upon France, if his Uncle's Nephew is not able to maintain that true faith there, also. We are fond of following European fashions. There is no tuft-hunter like a Yankee, none who delight more in going to Court, having the *entree* of the Balls of the Nobility, and in taking off his hat to Royalty in the street. Why should we not follow this excellent fashion? Are not Nicholas and M. Bonaparte right in their actions if they are sincere in their opinions? If the people of Europe are not fit to govern themselves, but must needs run madly into anarchy, if the wholesome restraints of patriarchal governments are removed, are they not justified in interfering to prevent such fearful results? If we have the same faith in our Institutions that they have in theirs, why should we not intervene to promote their spreading over the world, when a good occasion arises? We have no objection to fighting—at least, with nations and tribes weaker than ourselves. If Republicanism is good, and Hungary is trying to get it, and Russia is interposing to hinder her, why should we not stand by and see fair play, at least, if we will not take off our coats and step into the ring? We are sure we can see none.

But we shall damage our trade! Well, suppose we do. Trade is not the Chief End of Man, we apprehend, in a glorious Republic like ours. There was no scruple on this head, in Mr. Clay's mind, at least, when he helped destroy the trade of New England by the War with England, in 1812. "Sailor's Rights," "the Honour of the Nation," were to be maintained then at the expense of any quantity of Northern shopkeepers. And that War was no Intervention, neither! We did not fly at John Bull's heels, like a yelping cur, to distract him from the fight he was maintaining with that excellent Ally of our Democracy, Napoleon Bonaparte! They did not then think of Washington's Farewell Address then? It was forty years nearer Washington's time, and all the men active in that Intervention might have listened to it with their own ears, had they been near enough. They were all old enough. And now should another case like that of the Hungarian struggle arise, why should we not use the strength which sixty years of growth have given us to give to other nations the blessings we brag of so much ourselves? All our antecedents are in favour of such a course. The only reason that can be given is, that we are afraid. We were not afraid of England when she had Napoleon on her hands to be sure; but Russia and Austria and France and Prussia, and all the rest of reactionary Europe upon ours, must needs give us pause. But why? The principle of the thing is the same. The only difference is that this would be a generous sacrifice of blood and treasure to the maintainance of the great principle of self-government, and not a mere oblation to a partizan victory. Mr. Clay had better weep over the bankruptcy which the Intervention of 1812 brought to thousands of New England homes, and for his Intervention to hinder South American Independence reaching the dangerous vicinity of Cuba and making it free, indeed, than over the possibility of a brave self-devotion to a principle.

But Mr. Clay's appearance in the part of the Crocodile was quite an *amateur* performance. He knew well, no man better, the absolute moral (or *immoral*) impossibility of any such contingency occurring. No man has done more towards demoralizing the moral sense of the people than he, and converting the generous impulses of 1776 into the slave-catching meannesses of 1850. The difference between us and the Emperor Nicholas and President Bonaparte is, that they are in earnest in their admiration of the institutions they would reconstruct or maintain, and we are not. The leaders of the American people have no vital faith in the principles they profess. Their sympathise are not with Republicanism, but with Absolutism, in Europe. The only Republicanism which they really believe in is that equality which Crowned Heads everywhere vindicate as their right among themselves. What possible affinity can there be between Henry Clay and Louis Kossuth? No more, if M. Kossuth be the Republican he sets up for, than between him and the Pope. No man has done more to establish Slavery on a safe political basis than Mr. Clay and to secure the dominion of the country to the Slaveholders. He is too knowing a man not to know that this nation could not be "kicked into a war," except for the purposes of Slavery. Tyrants, whether they reign over hundreds of millions or over dozens only of men, whether they sway the Imperial sceptre or the cart-whip, are of one mind. Their affinities draw them together. What they want is Order. It is for Order that Nicholas and Bonaparte are trampling out the hearts of men. It is for Order that Mr. Clay and the rest of our Slaveholding masters struggle to maintain. The Order which makes men submit patiently to oppression and which would seal the lips of those that look on, if it could. When Nicholas and Francis Joseph and Louis Napoleon and Pius IX. are ready to intervene to prevent the North from intervening and helping the masters put down an Insurrection of Slaves and to see fair play between them, then, and not till then, will the American nation be ready to interpose to make Russia keep her distance while Austria and Hungary fight out their quarrel.

If any of our readers are suffering under distress of mind for fear of wars and rumours of wars likely to ensue from the vehemence of our Republican propagandism, we entreat them to calm their anxieties. For a very moderate premium we will undertake to insure them against any losses by sea or land, consequent on any such effervescence. We are under too heavy bonds to keep the peace. It has been said that England is so bound over in the sum of Eight Hundred Millions of pounds sterling. We have recognised to the same effect, Mr. Clay himself fixing the amount, in Twelve Hundred Millions of Dollars. This amount is in the hands of the men who are born to command us. A war would knock down the dividends of their human Stock to next to nothing. There would be a terrible tumble in that Stock Market. The Bears would be altogether too many for the Bulls. It might possibly even lead to an entire Repudiation of the securities. When the Rothchilds have the making of war and peace in Europe, and when war would endanger the stability of all the funds of all countries, and they will declare or carry on war for the propagation of the Jewish Religion, then we may expect that our Slaveholding Jews will endanger their fortunes for the dissemination of Republicanism. Those who love peace on any terms, honourable or dishonourable, it may comfort to know that a war for any honourable purpose is simply impossible; because, no war can be declared but by the consent of the slaveholders, and they will engage in none that may endanger the transit of their cotton and tobacco.

We may have another war with Mexico, with Central America, with South America for the enlargement of the Area of Freedom; but the only wars in which this country can or will engage, while Slavery exists, will be wars for the extension and security of Slavery, not of Liberty. M. Kossuth knows almost everything, but he hardly could have known this, or he would not have committed the blunder of coming to this country, and afterwards aggravated his blunder into a crime by his speech and by his silence. That he knew the omnipotence of Slavery here, he has shown from the first opening of his mouth on Staten Island unto this day, in the marvellous tact and skill with which he has contrived in saying nothing yet to imply everything, besides his open disclaimers of any intention of intervening on his part. He has humbled himself; but he has not been exalted. He has paid the price; but he will not get what he paid it for. Justice overtakes men even in this world, and we think M. Kossuth will know this by the time he turns his back upon America. A man, especially one claiming to be a chosen prophet of Liberty, cannot put his foot on three millions of slaves, and shut his eyes and ears to their misery, while he ransacks language for words of eulogy on their oppressors, and escape the Avenging Nemesis. She is upon his track, if she have not already overtaken him.—E. Q.

Kossuth, in reply to some Committee of invitation, at the West, says, that one hundred and sixty thousand dollars had been raised in this country for the Hungarian cause, but only thirty thousand of it had been saved for the cause itself. The balance had been expended in costly banquets and parades for which he has no taste, in which he takes no pleasure, and of which, for the future, he hopes to see less. As a reason why no more money should be spent in that way, he adds, that he has purchased, and he is still to complete the payment of 80,000 muskets, at $2 each. If he has not bought such guns much less than their worth, the Austrians or Russians will have those who shall carry them at a bargain. They will probably do more damage at their butts than their muzzles.

A Bill for the Abolition of Capital Punishment has passed the Senate of Rhode Island by three majority. It provides that no person sentenced to imprisonment for five years or more shall be pardoned except by the concurrent vote of three-fourths of the members elected to each House.

THE CASE OF SAMUEL WILLIAMS—END OF THE CHRISTIANA TRIALS.

The trial of Samuel Williams, which commenced in Philadelphia, early last month, but which, in consequence of the illness of Judge Kane, has been delayed from that time till last week, is at length concluded. It was at first proposed to put the defendant upon trial for his life, upon a charge of treason, but the verdict of acquittal in favour of Hanway, and the discharge of the other prisoners, who were arraigned with him, so far mitigated the rancour of the prosecution, that the prisoner was only held to answer to a charge of misdemeanour in obstructing the process of the United States under the Fugitive Slave Law, in giving information to the slaves of Gorsuch that they were about to be arrested. No full report of the evidence has, that we know of, been given, but we give below the opening speech of Mr. Ashmead for the prosecution, showing the grounds of the indictment, and what the Government hoped to prove. The case, after argument by counsel, went to the Jury on Wednesday, the 4th inst. They were out all night without being able to agree upon a verdict, standing, till late in the morning, six for conviction, and six for acquittal. But on Thursday forenoon they rendered a verdict of Not Guilty.

Two other bills remain against Williams, but it is presumed that a *nol. pros.* will be entered in regard to these. The counsel in this case were J. W. Ashmead, G. L. Ashmead and J. R. Ludlow for the United States; D. P. Brown, H. P. Kane and W. S. Pierce for defendant.

OPENING SPEECH OF GEORGE L. ASHMEAD.

May it please your Honour: Gentlemen of the Jury—I present to your consideration a bill of indictment against Samuel Williams, charging him among other matters, with obstructing, hindering, and preventing Henry H. Kline, a duly authorized officer, from arresting a fugitive slave—with aiding, abetting and assisting said fugitive to escape from the officer—with obstructing, hindering, and preventing the owner of said fugitive from arresting his slave—and with aiding, abetting and assisting said fugitive to escape from his owner. There are other counts in the indictment, but the evidence to be introduced on the part of the United States will apply more particularly to the charges I have specifically mentioned.

The indictment arises under the seventh section of the act of Congress, approved Sept. 18th, 1850, to be found in the Statutes at Large, of the thirty-first Congress, page 464. I will read to you detached portions of the section which immediately relate to the issue now before you. They are as follows: "And be it further enacted, That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct, hinder, or prevent such claimant, his agent or attorney, or any person or persons lawfully assisting him, her, or them, from arresting such fugitive from service or labour, either with or without process as aforesaid; or shall aid, abet, or assist such person so owing service or labour as aforesaid, directly or indirectly, to escape from such claimant, his agent or attorney, or other person or persons legally authorized as aforesaid, shall for either of said offences be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding six months."

The facts in the cause, as they will appear in evidence, I will now briefly narrate.

Edward Gorsuch, a highly respectable citizen of Baltimore county, in the State of Maryland, was the owner of certain slaves, to wit, Noah Buley and Joshua Hammond. These slaves ran away from their master in the fall of 1849. Information having been received that these slaves were concealed in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, application was made to Edward D. Ingraham, Esq., a Commissioner of the United States, and on the 9th of September last, warrants were issued by him, directed to Henry H. Kline, for the arrest of said fugitive slaves. The issuing of these warrants became known to the defendant, who is a coloured man, residing in the city of Philadelphia How this knowledge was obtained by him is a mystery, which time may solve, but as yet is entirely unexplained.

Provided with these warrants, Henry H. Kline, the officer, Edward Gorsuch, the owner, his son Dickinson, his cousin Joshua Gorsuch, his nephew Dr. Pearce, and one or two other gentlemen, proceeded to the house of Wm. Parker, near Christiana, in Lancaster Co., for the purpose of making the arrests. On the night of the 9th of Sept., a portion of the party were in the cars upon the railroad, and travelling towards Christiana. At that time the defendant was found in the cars, and was seen and recognised by some two or three persons. Early on the morning of the 10th Sept., about two o'clock, he was seen at Penningtonville by Kline, who knew him, and asked him what he (the defendant) was doing there. The defendant said, "I know what you (Kline) are after." The defendant afterwards followed Kline some distance on the road from Penningtonville.

On the same morning about daybreak, the defendant called at the house of Charles Smith, a respectable farmer who resides about a mile from Penningtonville. The defendant stated to Smith that he came up in the morning line—that he came to give information that the party were up on a hunt for slaves—that he wished Smith to give notice of the fact—that he himself had left a paper with three names on it at Christiana, one of which names was "Nelson"—that he was going to Boyd's house, next to Smith's, but had mistaken the house—and that he had come up for the purpose of letting the slaves know that Kline was in pursuit of them. The paper to which the defendant alluded as having been left by him at Christiana, came into the possession of Josephus Washington and John Clark, who not being able to read it, called upon Dr. Cain to do so. Doctor Cain will state to you that three names were on the paper, two of which he recollects, and they correspond with the names of the slaves of Edward Gorsuch.

Josephus Washington and John Clarke, whose testimony was deemed important to the United States, were committed to the prison in Moyamensing to appear as witnesses in the case, but in a manner quite as mysterious as that by which the defendant obtained knowledge of the warrants, they escaped from prison, and have not since been seen. I will show you, however, by the notes of the testimony of Josephus Washington, taken at the hearing before Commissioner Ingraham, that the paper came from the defendant, and was subsequently lost. The defendant was arrested, and upon his arrest voluntarily confessed that he had been at Christiana—that he gave there the information of the pursuit of the slaves—that he met Kline there—that he told Kline he knew what he was after—and he would do the same thing again.

These facts establish in two ways, that the defendant gave the information by which the slaves afterwards escaped. First—by defendant's own confession, and second—by the paper left by him at Christiana. Either of these ways, if proved to the satisfaction of the jury, is sufficient to convict the defendant.

Having thus traced out the agency of the defendant in this matter, I proceed to state the effects which the information given by him produced.

The party who had started to arrest the slaves arrived near Parker's house at daybreak on the morning of the 11th of September. On their way up, horns were heard blowing along the road, and on reaching the house they found an armed party of negroes concealed in the upper rooms, and among them were recognised the slaves of Mr. Gorsuch. The warrants were read to them and every reasonable effort was made to induce them to submit to the laws. In the meantime horns were blowing from the house, answered by horns from the surrounding neighborhood, and in a short time a hand of from a hundred to a hundred and fifty negroes armed with guns and scythes gathered around the house. I will not here enter upon the detail of the sickening barbarities which followed. Suffice it to say that a murderous assault was made by the negroes, in which Edward Gorsuch was cruelly and wantonly murdered, Dickinson and Joshua Gorsuch were severely and almost fatally wounded, and the arrest of the slaves ~~effectually~~ resisted and prevented.

These facts being proved, I assert, on the part of the United States,

First, That the information given by the defendant constitutes in itself, an aiding, abetting and assisting the fugitive to escape, and,

Second. That the facts taken together make the defendant as much a principal in the escape of the fugitive, as any one who was present and took part in the transactions at Parker's house.

That in misdemeanours all are principals, is a familiar principle of criminal law, for which, may it please your Honour, I need cite no other authority than Wharton's Criminal Law.

Gentlemen of the Jury, this is an important case. The act of 1850 was passed to avoid the danger of disunion between the Northern and Southern States. If Northern juries disregard the law, this danger instead of being lessened will be increased. There is a feeling in the South on this subject that cannot be mistaken. I am no advocate for Slavery, and could it be done consistently with a due regard for the rights of my fellow-citizens, I would gladly witness its extinction. But I am not willing to trample upon the laws and Constitution of my country. The extinction of Slavery cannot be the work of an hour or a day or a year. It must be by regular, gradual, constitutional means, and may God speed the day when the South shall unite with the North in proclaiming to the world that Slavery as an institution has ceased to exist within the borders of this wide-spread and happy Republic.

We must deal, however, gentlemen, with this question in such manner that the rights of our fellow-citizens shall be sustained. Slavery existed in this country before the formation of the Constitution. The Constitution itself provided that a slave escaping from one State into another shall be delivered up on claim of the owner. The act of Congress, of 1793, was intended to facilitate the carrying into effect the provision of the Constitution, and empowered the master or his agent to arrest a fugitive and take him before a judge of the United States Courts, or any magistrate of a county for proper proof, and for certificate of removal. Of late years, however, a higher law doctrine has sprung into existence, and even in Pennsylvania, firm, constitutional, loyal Pennsylvania, this doctrine has had its influence.

In 1826 the legislature of Pennsylvania passed an act, declaring that no alderman or justice of the peace should take cognizance of any fugitive slave case under the act of 1793. In 1847 another act was passed by the legislature of Pennsylvania, taking from the judges of the Commonwealth the cognizance of any such case, and forbidding the use of its jails for the detention of any fugitive slave. This was the legislation in our own State Similar legislation took place in other States. The effect of this legislation was to render inoperative and practically void, the Constitution and laws of the United States upon this subject. Its effect upon public opinion in the Southern States is matter of history. Every man who hears me knows that the whole country was shaken with excitement and agitation.

To allay this excitement, to calm down this agitation, the Compromise Act of 1850 was passed, and it rests upon you, gentlemen of the jury, to say whether in this case the act shall be carried into effect. You have a solemn duty to perform. I do not ask you to convict the defendant, if innocent, but I do ask, if he be guilty, that the penalties of the law be visited upon him. I appeal to you, as American citizens, as American jurors, that you perform your duty, firmly, fearlessly, promptly; and that while you have due regard to the rights of the defendant, you will sustain at all hazards the laws and Constitution of the land.

The *Philadelphia Bulletin* sums up the report of the conclusion of the trial on the Wednesday of last week, as follows:

Before Mr. D. P. Brown proceeded to the jury, District Attorney Ashmead cited cases upon which he should rely for a conviction. inasmuch as Mr. Brown had taken the ground that Commissioner Ingraham had no authority to issue the warrant, as he had never sworn to perform the duties of the office.

Mr. Ashmead submitted eleven propositions to the Judge, upon which he asked him to charge the jury. Among these were, substantially, that if deft. knew that Kline had a warrant for the arrest of fugitive slaves, and gave information of such intention, he is guilty of an obstruction—that it was lawful for Edward Gorsuch, or his agent or attorney, to arrest his fugitive slaves without warrant, and that any interference to prevent their arrest was an obstruction—that E. D. Ingraham having received an appointment as Commissioner of the United States, from the Circuit Court, held a commission from legal and competent authority, and although he neglected to comply with its provisions of law, his acts in regard to the ordinary functions of his office are valid in respect to the right of third persons interested in such acts, and his authority to exercise such office cannot be determined in a collateral way—that the warrants issued by the Commissioner were lawful warrants, and that of Kline, who was authorized to serve them, was interfered with to prevent it, it is an obstruction—that the prosecutor was not bound to show that the Commissioner was sworn, the presumption being that everything is rightly performed in acts of an official nature, until the contrary is shown—that it was the duty of Kline to serve the process entrusted to him, whether the Commissioner was sworn or not; and having accepted the warrants for service, he could not enquire into the propriety of the Commissioner to issue the warrants—that whether the defendant knew or did not know that Kline was a lawful officer, having lawful process to arrest Noah Baley and Joshua Hammond, he acted at his peril, and is liable to be convicted of the offence laid in the indictment, if the evidence shows that in fact he obstructed, hindered or prevented their arrest—that if defendant, believing that Kline and his party were kidnappers, gave such information as to prevent, hinder or obstruct the arrest of the fugitives, he acted at his peril, and is liable to be convicted of the offence charged.

D. P. Brown then commenced his argument to the jury. It is needless to say that it was brilliant. He said that he had been denounced for appealing to a higher law, as if there were something terrible in it. What is this higher law? It is the principle implanted by the God of Nature in the breast of every human being, and cannot be obliterated by any statutory provisions of legislative bodies, who attempt to break the allegiance between the creature and the Creator. It was the law of the Martyrs, testified by their blood. It was the law of Daniel, upon which he relied in his trial and distress, against the laws of the Medes and Persians, which never altered; but which seems to be derided and condemned by a second Daniel, who may have nothing to fear from the lions, but who will yet find that a sober public opinion will pass its verdict against the decision.

The case was then given to the Jury, who rendered a righteous verdict, as already stated.

MISS DELIA WEBSTER AND CALVIN FAIRBANK.

Mr. Fairbank, it will be remembered, has recently been arrested in Indiana, on a process issued in Kentucky, for assisting in the escape of fugitive slaves, and is now in prison awaiting his trial on this charge. What may be the degree of his guilt or his imprudence, we, of course, are ignorant, but, if his own statement be true, there can be no doubt that his arrest was made in defiance of States'-law, and in violation of his rights as a private citizen. He was pardoned, some years ago, when imprisoned on a similar charge, if our memory serves us aright, on condition that he should not return to Kentucky; and it is certainly no breach of that condition to be on the borders of that State, but in another, and to give aid, if he were so disposed, to any fugitive Kentuckians that might come in his way, and be in need of his assistance. He has done nothing worse than this, according to his own account, if he has done any thing offensive to Kentucky law. Such a plea, however, will not save him, probably, from serving out a long term in a Southern prison.

Miss Delia Webster, it will also be remembered, was implicated in his former attempt to run off slaves; and her recent appearance in Kentucky, at about the time of Mr. Fairbank's arrest, was construed to her prejudice—in one sense—by some of the public prints of that State. The *Georgetown* (Ky.) *Herald*, alluding to the capture of Fairbank, asked "where is Miss Delia Webster?" The *Louisville Courier* replies: "Miss Delia Webster arrived here yesterday morning on the mail-boat Gen. Pike. Where she is from, where she is going, and what is her business West at this particular time, has not yet been made public" And added, a day or two after: "Miss Delia Webster visited the Rev. Calvin Fairbank at his lodgings in jail yesterday."

To these innuendoes and statements, the offended young lady takes it upon herself to reply in a letter to the *Courier;* and does it in a way which must give the Kentucky papers a high estimation of how an unprotected Vermont female can take care of herself when fairly put to it. She not only turns her back upon poor Fairbank, but faces her enemies in a way which will be a caution to all Kentucky editors how they take her name in vain for the future.

Whether she visited Mr. Fairbank in prison "yesterday," she considers by no means the only important fact to be known respecting her movements. It is not amiss, she thinks, before coming to that point, to give a sketch of how her time has been occupied since the winter of '44 and '45, when she bade a "tearful adieu" to Kentucky, feeling that her "motives were misapprehended," and her "merits unappreciated," after "receiving wrong upon wrong, wound after wound, and insult upon injury, even till that last fatal blow was inflicted, and bearing all meekly, patiently, and in uncomplaining silence, because the poignard that so deeply stabbed me [her] was in the hands of a people that I loved."

In this harrowing state of mind, and moved by this martyr spirit, she returned to her "dear New England home," and engaged in her "favourite pursuit" of school-teaching, which, with "indefatigable zeal," she prosecuted for the next three years. "But the Vermont winters—the Green Mountain storms of wind and snow—were exceedingly detrimental to [her] my frail constitution;" and the reader can not fail to pause here and reflect how indomitable that spirit must be which, notwithstanding the physical influence exerted by such storms and winters, encountered under a keen sense of 'unappreciated merit,' elsewhere, could still remain unquenched and vigorous. By direction of the family physician, she removed to this city for the benefit "of sea-breezes, sea-bathing, and a diet that salt-water alone could furnish"—by which is meant, we presume, fresh fish. Neither the diet nor the bathing, nor the breezes, however, perfected the cure, and she sought relief for the bronchitis, and the extreme irritability of her lungs, at Madison, Indiana—a city recommended not only as a desirable location for her school, but also for her "fancy painting." It was during the residence here that she was surprised by intelligence of the death of her "adored father," a "loved and venerable" man, who, it will be some consolation to the public to learn, was not only a "devoted Christian," but also "a Freemason of the highest order." Overwhelmed by these mournful tidings, she was compelled to relinquish her favourite employment—which she had taken up here also—and take to her bed; nor could she, for months, obey the summons of her remaining parent, to return to the "old homestead," to spend there "the residue of her days."

When she did, it was with little benefit to her health, and she subsequently visited the Springs at Saratoga. But "long protracted grief" had so worked upon her fragile constitution that, by the advice of the "eminent Dr. Hun, of Albany," she determined to seek a restoration to health in the balmy breezes of the West, and—still adhering to the principle of a fish diet—Cod Liver Oil. Accordingly, with some pupils under her care, and a waiting-maid—without whom she never travels—she again starts for Kentucky. And thus, though not very briefly, is answered the first queries of the impertinent editor. We must not forget, however, to mention that the Hon. Thomas H. Benton, the Hon. Amos Kendall, the Hon. William O. Butler, and other distinguished persons, were on the same boat with her in going down the Ohio—a distinction of which, it is to be hoped, they were properly conscious. It was on this boat that she first learned of the atrocious conduct of her former friend, Mr. Fairbank, in being arrested on a charge of aiding fugitives to escape.

The painful and interesting details of her arrival and landing, in the early morning, at Louisville, the difficulties she met and bravely conquered in passing from the boat, through mud and darkness, to the cars, we must omit. Reclining in the arms of her waiting-maid, she at length entered the "*Capitol*" (*sic*) of Kentucky.

We come now to the close of her letter, and her opinion of Mr. Fairbank, and this is best given in her own words:

Owing to my feebleness, the statements of the *Courier* were not shown me at the time of their publication, and this is my earliest opportunity of saying to the public that instead of my stopping in Louisville until the next day and visiting Mr. Fairbank in jail, on the 21st, as was published, I left Louisville on the morning of the 20th, and in less than fifty minutes after the boat made her landing. Nor did I call to see Mr. Fairbank at all; not simply because there was *no time*, however, but that I had *no disposition* to do so, even had there been time. Nor have I seen the man; or know any thing of his life since about the time of his pardon, some two years and a half ago. And I will here take occasion to remark that I have no sympathy for the course he is charged with pursuing. No Kentuckian could be more disgusted with it. And though I would not seem *severe* upon an unfortunate fellow-being, yet I must be allowed to express my utter detestation of such an illiberal and ungrateful transaction. I was surprised and grieved that a man of his profession should condescend to lay himself liable to censure from those who had befriended him. But I regret most of all his seeming want of honour and moral obligation.

The chivalry of Kentucky is proverbial. What Miss Webster expects of her, and the awkward position in which the State, unless great circumspection is observed, may place herself, may be seen in the closing paragraph of this specimen of that lady's "fancy painting":

I expect to remain with my friends in Frankfort one or two weeks longer, and, in justice to all with whom I have become acquainted, will say that I have thus far been greeted with the utmost confidence and cordiality. All I ever ask is to stand upon my own merits. But should the time arrive when I have occasion to think my presence unwelcome or in any sense an annoyance to Kentucky, I will unhesitatingly bid her a final adieu, for my delicate and sensitive nature recoils at being thought an intruder.

With due respect, yours, &c.

Delia A. Webster.

Our Boston Correspondent, in his letter in last week's paper, referred to the appearance of one Abraham Gunnings Drake, at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. The *Boston Times* thus reports the speech of that individual:

'Mr. Garrison came forward and said: We have heard cheers for Webster, Clay, and Abby Folsom, and thus you group them! The one, a poor insane woman, the other—it would be to his everlasting credit if we could say he was insane too.

Why, among all the friends of the great recreant patriot, not some one of them come to this platform to defend him? It is free for all.

This invitation brought up Abraham Gunnings Drake, who took it upon himself to defend the defender. He was a perfect Roaring K. Rouser. His advent was hailed with rousing cheers. He struck a fierce attitude, and again brought down the house. He walked the platform like a stag at bay; he shot looks of terrific intensity upon the excited auditory. He illustrated the three great principles of Demosthenian oratory, 'action, action, action.' After walking the platform in solemn majesty for a while, the volcano of his eloquence burst forth. With arms extended, and inflated lungs, and voice of power, he exclaimed, 'I have come here at the invitation of the great abolition leader of the world, and I am going to give you a little information about that great Daniel who has been thrown into the jaws of these abolition lions, but who will, like his illustrious predecessor, be delivered from the den of their ferocious jaws.

When the Declaration of Independence was signed, wasn't there Slavery? Yaas! Didn't Peter Faneuil advertise slaves in the city? Yes, sir ree! What then? was it wrong? I go for my Ked'ntry, right or wrong. Wrong commenced in the Garden of Eden—what of that? I am a red-hot loco-foco of the pro-slavery stamp (good)! I go for the Fugitive Slave Law, and so does the great Daniel. When I first commenced the political course of my existence, I was determined to go for my Ked'ntry, and now I am determined to rescue the immortal Daniel from the rank and file of the red-hot, infuriated, mad, insane, crazy, demented, imbecile Abolitionists. Why, because England only freed her black slaves in consequence of jealousy of the United States. Therefore I go for Daniel Webster, head and foot, in all over, although I wouldn't vote for him.' The orator stalked off the stage like a conqueror fresh from victory.

This unique defence of the great statesman convulsed the house with laughter. During the confusion, Mellen, jealous of the laurels gained by Drake stepped forward, but the applause was so uproarous he could not be heard. He stood beating the air for a few minutes, and slank away.

Law in Virginia.—A correspondent of the *Ravenna* (O.) *Whig* makes the following statement in a letter from Western Virginia:

Since my last visit to this country, Clarksburgh, one of the most flourishing towns in this vicinity, has been burned; or, rather, a large portion of the business part of the place has been consumed, and that, too, by incendiaries. A man by the name of Jacques, his wife, a female slave belonging to them, two boys and a free negro, are now in confinement charged with the offence. The evidence adduced before the examining court was, that Jacques and wife hired the boys, and ordered the girl to assist them in making the fires, threatening her with death if she refused or revealed. *One of the boys and the girl have since confessed all, but unfortunately the evidence of the girl can only be taken against the free negro.* The town has been in a state of intense excitement since the fire, and the Sheriff is compelled to keep a strong guard around the prison to prevent the citizens from shooting Jacques, or his associates from releasing him, as he is believed to be one of a band of desperadoes.

Birney the Apostate.—Mr. Birney, it seems, instead of dying, as it was reported, last week, he had done, has committed the worse act of coming out as an advocate of Colonisation. He has published a pamphlet on this subject by virtue of which he is hailed as a convert by the advocates of that scheme of negro-expatriation. The pamphlet itself we have not seen, but shall endeavour to give our readers some idea of it when we get a sight of it.

How Free a Free Coloured Man is in Maryland.—The House of Delegates of Maryland adopted an order on the 2nd inst., with but two negative votes, requiring the Committee on coloured population to "inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill to compel all free negroes to hire themselves out by the year."

Good.—A coloured man by the name of Thompson has received damages amounting to seventy-five dollars, in a suit against a conductor on the Jefferson and Elmira Railroad, who attempted to eject him from the cars, some time last summer, for preferring to occupy the seat he had paid for.

Haynauism in Virginia.—A free coloured woman was committed to jail in Richmond, Va., on the 5th instant. She was charged with assaulting another woman, and attempted to make her escape in men's clothes. For this crime, and for being without free papers, she was condemned to receive thirty-nine lashes.

The Independence of the penal colony on the Coast of Africa, to which men are banished for the crime of being born black, has been recognised by the Prussian Government.

Communications.

Notes and Comments, Observations and Reflections, Scenes and Sketches, Gleanings by the Way-side, &c., &c.

BY AN ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURER.

NO. V.

CATTARAUGUS Co., N. Y., Nov. 27.

LEFT Elliotville this morning for Waverly, where I now am. Was told I should find some staunch Anti-Slavery men here, and would, doubtless, have some good meetings. Was obliged to travel some thirty miles round, to accomplish ten or twelve, on a "bee-line." But as this was the cheapest, quickest and easiest way to accomplish the journey I had, (though I felt ill-natured) no reasonable excuse for grumbling. Passed through a portion of the "Alleghany Reservation," a territory reserved, by the Government, for the use of the remnant of the tribe of Seneca Indians, still living there. They are, I believe, about five hundred in number—are said to be, generally, dissipated and degraded, spending their time, mainly, in hunting and fishing—stooping to perform common labour only when compelled by stern necessity. There are honourable exceptions, however. I saw a number of them at the depot. Some of them looked quite respectable, some rough and ugly, and one or two were reeling under the pressure of the white man's "fire-water." There is one Indian somewhere in this section (I don't know whether or not he is of this tribe) who is an educated man and a physician, is spoken of as a man of superior talent, and splendid oratory. This reserved territory is forty miles in length, by one mile in width, the Alleghany River running through it lengthwise. Report says they were shamefully taken in, by the Government, in reference to the *extent* of their reserved rights. The Indians supposed that they were reserving forty miles square; but the "powers that be," being better versed in the science of technical phraseology, construed the 'clause' to mean forty square miles; and as the "powers that be" in *this* country are, in a very *special* manner, "*ordained of God*," of course the poor Indians, not having the power, had to submit. Whether this report be true or not, I am not prepared to say, positively. Very likely it is. At all events, this kind of dealing with the *weak* is quite characteristic of the *white* men in *power*, in this country.

But I have reached Waverley, where I was led to expect we should, doubtless, have some good meetings. Alas! how uncertain are human calculations. There are, I was told, quite a number of Anti-Slavery men here; that is, quite a *small* number—two or three I should think, at least—how *staunch* they will prove to be, hath not yet been revealed to me.

But, as to the "good meetings," there is no house in which to hold them, not even a school-house. The old school-house has been sold and converted into a dwelling; the new one is unfinished. As to meeting-houses, they have *none*, though this is quite a village. Whether they are better or worse off on this account, I leave each individual to decide, according to his, or her, own notion of such things. I have my own opinion of the matter, which, for *policy* sake, I think I had better keep to myself, for the present. I will say, however, that I *dreamed* one night, that the people who live *down below* always have a day of rejoicing when a church is built in this country—regarding it as a great help to them, in a very benevolent enterprise in which they are engaged—unless it is built on *comeouter* or "*infidel*" plan, in which case they observe a day of fasting and prayer. But this was only a dream, and must go for what it will fetch. I am not much of a dreamer, or at least believer in dreams, but this one affected me very sincerely, and made a deep, and I half fear, a *lasting* impression on my mind.

But what is to be done? I see no chance for an Anti-Slavery meeting here. The "*Odd Fellows*" have a Hall, which would answer the purpose, but they have a rich carpet on the floor, which must not be soiled. And besides, I believe they are not very friendly to the "science of Niggerology," having put a constitutional mark of proscription on the unfortunate children of Ham. Whether or not the good people "*below*" take as much interest in *their* affairs, as in those of the *Christians*, I am not prepared, at this time, to decide—not having dreamed of them in particular. If, however, I should have a vision hereafter, taking that honourable body of men within its range, I will cheerfully communicate the result to the public.

I am informed that, in the East part of this town (Otto), there is something of a village, numbering two churches, one school house, a few Anti-Slavery and not a few *pro*-slavery folks. Think I will go there to-morrow.

But here comes a man who is going right there. He says I am just in time; the inhabitants of that community have made arrangements to discuss the Compromise measures of the last Congress. The discussion will open this evening. Well, I *am* just in time. This is, indeed, fortunate. I shall go on there directly. This discussion will prepare the community for receiving truth, that aims at something beyond mere non-acquiescence in the Compromise measures.

East Otto, Nov. 28.—Arrived here from Waverly, last night, just in time to be present at the opening of the discussion. The question was in the form of a resolution, the gist of which was, whether the Fugitive Slave Law should be respected and obeyed. My business here having been ascertained, I was invited to take part in the discussion. Of course, I very modestly accepted the invitation.

The main spoke in the *lower-law* wheel was a Mr. Rice, who has served the people of this county, in the capacities of member of the Assembly, County Superintendent of Common Schools, and Ambassador for God, in the Methodist denomination.

This gentleman is well versed, historically, in politics—having read considerable, and being blessed with an excellent memory. He has great "gift of gab;" his tongue seems to be loose at both ends. Were he to outlive the existence of *ideas*, by a thousand years, I think he would never be at loss for *words*. He is a man of some talent, though it partakes much more of the nature of *tact* than real talent. But morally speaking, he is deficient, as every man must be who can consent to advocate the claims of the Fugitive Slave Law. The reflective portion of his intellect, is also deficient; he skims the surface even of *pro-slavery expediency*. Had he ninety-nine per cent. more conscientiousness, with the same intellectual development, he would be, probably, a second rate Free Soiler. Perhaps he would need a little additional sprinkling of benevolence to bring him up to that mark. The colleague of this man, was a Mr. Lang, a man somewhat deficient in speaking talent, but more of a thinker than the other. The argument, if such it can be called, was based upon expediency, the supporters of the resolution freely admitting the infamous *character* of the law.

At the close of the discussion for last evening (it is to be continued), I signified my desire to hold a few Anti-Slavery meetings in this place, but would very willingly wait until after the close of the discussion, providing it could be continued right along. I wished it might be continued the next evening. Having engaged in the discussion at the commencement, I desired to see the end of it. I could do good Anti-Slavery work in a discussion of that character. The audience promptly seconded my suggestion. But this would not answer the turn of the lower-law champion. He could not attend the next evening, his time was much taken up with other business; he had a great deal on hand to attend to; he wanted time to arrange his argument, and look up his testimony, and a thousand and one other obstacles were in the way; he could not attend the next evening. Could he attend the next (Saturday) evening? No! that was too soon. On Monday evening, then? No! he wanted a whole week. It was finally arranged to continue the discussion on Tuesday evening next. I then gave notice of lectures for the intervening evenings, and signified to the audience my intention of being on hand, on Tuesday evening. This took our friend by surprise. He had not thought I would remain in the place more than a day or two, else he would have found an excuse for putting off the discussion still longer. But he was mistaken. I was to be on hand. Thrown entirely off his guard, by the announcement, with surprise and disappointment depicted on his countenance, he exclaimed, "*how long do you calculate to stay here?*" This called forth a general burst of laughter from the audience, and I replied: "that will depend upon circumstances. I shall remain until Tuesday, certainly—perhaps a week or two longer. You will not get rid of me very easily." Finding he had, in an unguarded moment, expressed a little too much anxiety in regard to my presence, he replied: "Well, sir, I should like to follow you, in your round of lectures, in this section, and reply to them." "O, very well, I should be pleased to have you do so. You shall have full liberty to reply. Or I will lecture one evening, and you may reply to my remarks the next evening, and so on, to the end of the chapter. You shall have the benefit of the last hearing. What do you say to that?" Here a portion of the audience set in, and besought him not to "*back out.*" But the gentleman finally concluded it was a matter of too little importance to engage his attention, and *sloped*. Now, all this would, doubtless, have been quite flattering to my worldly pride—seeing this gentleman had once attained to the rank of member of the Assembly—but for two considerations, which came plump down upon the rising feeling of gratification, and smothered it before it had time to take to itself form or comliness, or afford the least degree of pleasure to the earthly man; viz.

1. The electing of men of genuine talent to the legislature, by the people of this country, is the exception, not the rule. 2. I feel myself engaged in a cause in which one, though weak, can chase a thousand, however strong. It was not my intellectual ability the man feared, but a small lamp I carried, in the light of which, the haggard moral deformity of his position stood revealed. He had evidently calculated on meeting *only* Free Soil opposition. This, he had satisfied himself, he could manage. But Abolition arguments were quite another thing. In the light of such arguments, whether the law was Constitutional, or whether some of its provisions were so formed as to endanger the liberties of those who had never been enslaved, were matters of comparatively small importance. The right of the Constitution, or the Congress, or the Devil, their father, or anybody and everybody, this side of heaven, or there either, to enslave *any* man, was the great question to be settled. And the settlement of this, would settle the whole matter. The right of Congress to pass a law to enslave *one* man, established, and its right, when circumstances make it expedient—to enslave *any* man, is established. Its right to enslave whom it pleases, by law, denied, and it has no right to enslave anybody. This was putting a too serious face on the question, altogether. Never did men make greater exertions than did this man and his associate to keep this question within the limits of a narrow, soulless expediency. They did not wish to enter into the discussion of man's original right to liberty. They did not wish to go behind the Constitution to inquire about the rights of the people. They *would* not be drawn into a discussion of the inalienable right to liberty, declared in our "Bill of Rights," though, by the way, they were all along admitting this right, by admitting the detestable character of the Slave Law, and the wickedness of the system it was framed to uphold. But they reached the end of the rope of expediency, long before the close of the discussion last night; the remainder of the evening, they spent after the manner of pro-slavery men, generally, and Fugitive Slave Law men in particular, in finding fault with Abolitionists and *saving the Union*. What they will do for a position, Tuesday evening, the Lord only knows—unless his Satanic Majesty has made provisions for them against an emergency. We shall see.

P. S. The friends of freedom in Cattaraugus County have had the promise of a Convention, to be held in Elliottville, and to be addressed by some of the strong men and women of New England, and other places, this present winter. Last fall, it was expected that the Convention would be held early in the winter. The people are becoming impatient. I have been expecting private intelligence on this subject, from head quarters, for two months past, but have received none, though I have written to half the post offices in this region of country, to have letters forwarded. Our friends from the East are, I see, in this State, and have been some time. Do they intend to come into Western New York, soon? And can they attend a Convention in Cattaraugus? Will they let us hear from them *through the Standard*, immediately?

J. H. P.

Miscellaneous Items.

TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The twentieth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in Boston, on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, January 28th, 29th and 30th, 1852.

The meeting commenced at the Melodeon, on the first-named day, and was called to order at 10 1-2 o'clock, by the President, FRANCIS JACKSON.

Cornelius Bramhall and Samuel May, Jr., were chosen Assistant Secretaries.

Opportunity for vocal or silent prayer being given, prayer was offered by John M. Spear, of Boston.

Samuel Philbrick, Treasurer of the Society, made his Annual Report of receipts and expenditures. The whole amount of receipts for the year was $6,896 19. Expenditures, $6,454 35. Balance remaining in the treasury, January 1st, 1852, $540 07. The Report was certified by the Auditor of the Society, Edmund Jackson, as having been examined, and found correct and duly vouched.

On motion of C. Bramhall, the Report was accepted, by a unanimous vote.

Voted, That Committees on Business, on Finance and on the Nomination of Officers for the ensuing year, be nominated by the Chair.

The following persons were nominated a Committee on Business, and chosen:

William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Charles C. Burleigh, Charles L. Remond, Parker Pillsbury, John M. Spear, Daniel Foster, Lucy Stone. Sarah H. Ernst, of Cincinnati, Ohio, was afterwards added.

The following were nominated, and chosen, a Committee of Finance:

Lewis Ford, Jas. N. Buffum, Nathaniel B. Spooner, Elbridge Sprague.

The chair was taken by Effingham L. Capron, of Worcester, one of the Vice Presidents of the Society.

Edmund Quincy, on behalf of the Board of Managers, presented their Annual Report, from which he read copious extracts. The Report gave a detailed sketch of the history of the cause, and of the operations of the Society, during the year past.

On motion, Voted, that the Report be laid on the table, and printed.

Wendell Phillips, from the Business Committee, reported the following Resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That as citizens of Boston and the Commonwealth we record our deep disapprobation and indignant protest against the surrender of Thomas Sims by this city, its sanction of the cowardly and lying policy of the police, its servile and volunteer zeal in behalf of the man-hunters, and its deliberate, wanton, and avowed violation of the laws of the Commonwealth for the basest of all purposes—slave-trading—selling a free man into bondage, that State and Milk-streets might make money.

2. *Resolved*, That the circumstance of the case will not allow us to believe that this infamous deed was the act of the City Government merely; and then as Boston-born men some of us comforting ourselves in the reflection that the fawning sycophant who disgraced the Mayor's chair was not born on the Peninsula whose fair fame he blotted, but all the facts go to show that in this, as in all his life, he was only the easy and shuffling tool of the moneyed classes, and therefore too insignificant to be remembered with any higher feeling than contempt.

3. *Resolved*, That we cherish a deep and stern indignation toward the Judges of the Commonwealth, whose personal cowardice, pitiful subserviency, utter lack of official dignity, and entire disregard of their oaths, witnessed in silence the violation of laws they were bound to enforce, and disgraced the Bench once honoured by the presence of a Sedgwick or a Sewall.

4. *Resolved*, That we do not forget, in estimating the character of the professed Churches of Boston, that through this dismal and melancholy night of infamy, they upheld a merciless people in the execution of an inhuman law.

5. *Resolved*, That in the rescue of Shadrach, the manly and successful resistance to Gorsuch and his blood-hounds, and the noble attitude of the city of Syracuse, we see cheering evidence that the love of Liberty and the reverence for Law have not died out in the land.

6. *Resolved*, That, when we consider the critical state of parties and the public mind in relation to Slavery, the fearful struggle going on between the principles of Liberty and those of a merciless Despotism,—the friends of the one being a Spartan band, and those of the other a Persian host; when we consider also the anxious expectation with which the coming of Louis Kossuth was watched, the momentous weight attached to his lightest word, his eloquent professions of devotion to the principles of impartial liberty, and to being governed by the higher law of humanity and universal Freedom, and his position as the recognised leader of one-half of the reformers of Europe, we are forced to regard his course in relation to American Slavery, his unqualified eulogies of our Constitution and its present administration, his indiscriminate praise of our leading statesmen, his endorsement, in such glowing terms, of the Mexican war, his purposed and pledged silence on the infamous system of human bondage, his uncalled for and ungenerous, if not cowardly, rebuke of a fellow-countryman, the editor of an American press, for his opposition to the monstrous provisions of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and his hardly disguised censure of the Abolitionists, as falsehood to his high professions, treason to the cause of humanity and human rights, injurious to the nation he seeks to aid, fatal to his own fame, in worldly phrase, 'worse than a crime, a folly,' if he supposes such a course will give him either sincere sympathy or effective aid; and an added blot on the dark brow of American Slavery, that she has succeeded in melting in the lap of her temptations another of the great historic names of the age, and left him 'to grind in the mill' of her infamous service.

The time of the morning session having expired, the Society adjourned to 2 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.—Met according to adjournment, the President in the Chair. The Resolutions reported in the morning being in order, George W. Putnam, one of the lecturing agents of the Society, spoke in their support, including some account of his experience as a lecturer. He spoke of the high satisfaction and great benefit he had received, while accompanying that eloquent and fearless advocate of the cause, George Thompson, into the State of New York and Canada, during the early part of last year. He also adverted to the various successes he had had while labouring as an agent in the States of Maine and Massachusetts.

PARKER PILLSBURY, of New Hampshire, spoke in support of the Resolutions, and expressed the hope that the Society, whose anniversary celebration we are now commencing, would prove true to its duty; that it would meet the great and crying wants of the country, teaching the way of life, of freedom and of salvation to the thousands and tens of thousand who have outgrown the bounds of sect and party, who have thrown off the chains of a dead church and a heartless religion, and are struggling to come into the true light and to the true worship of God.

JOHN RAND, of Milton, said he responded very heartily to what had been said, though his friend Pillsbury had used some expressions which might be misunderstood. He said he was, he hoped, a Christian; he had aimed to be such; he hoped to die such; and because he was a Christian, he was therefore an Abolitionist. For fifteen years, he had been in sympathy with this Society; but he desired to-day to confess his short-comings in duty; he felt he had not long to live, and he was resolved to devote himself more fully and entirely to his work as a Christian and an Abolitionist. Look on me, he said, all of you, and hear me avow myself an Abolitionist, a friend and reader of the *Liberator*, who admires and loves the pure Christian doctrine which the *Liberator* maintains (although often denounced as infidel), and witness my resolve to devote myself more completely to the Anti-Slavery work, ready to bear the reproach of Christ and of the truth, both within and without the camp.

P. PILLSBURY said a few words by way of explanation. When missionaries go to foreign lands, and denounce the idolatrous practices there prevailing, they do not feel bound frequently to stop and say, But understand me, friends; when I denounce your idolatry and cannibalism, I do not mean to denounce pure religion, or anything else that is good. So here. We have a *religion* in this country. Men all around *call* it Christianity—and that religion is protecting under its ample folds, sins and sinners of the vilest stamp. It is apologizing for, and bringing the names of God and of Christ to justify, the grossest abominations, the most terrible wrongs against men, and the most flagrant contempt of the laws of God. When we denounce this thing, is it necessary to explain that we do not mean to denounce the truth of God and the righteousness of Christ.

JOHN M. SPEAR detailed some of his own experience as a labourer in behalf of the Prisoner. He had met with many professed Christians—ministers and others—who would give him no aid, and would not permit him to speak for the prisoner in their pulpits, because he was a friend of Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH said he was well pleased with the advice often given us by many who profess to have made great attainments in religion, that we should conduct our reform *in a Christian way*. What is a 'Christian way?' Listen to Jesus, when he arraigns the church and religious teachers of his day as hypocrites and criminals; not going into the kingdom of heaven themselves, and hindering those who would go; a generation of vipers, &c. We are told, too, that *the Church* must reform the world. Indeed! Is the church which upholds Slavery, and other kindred wrongs, the fit power to rid the world of those wrongs? The church which is to reform the world, we have been taught, is one against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, not one which becomes itself the advocate of the worst doctrines of hell. The true church must drive its ploughshare deep under the foundations of that church which is the 'chief bulwark of American Slavery.'

Adjourned to 7 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.—Edmund Quincy, one of the Vice Presidents, in the chair.

The resolutions before the Society were read by the Secretary.

Parker Pillsbury and Wendell Phillips spoke ably and eloquently in their support.

[A phonographic report, by J. M. W. Yerrinton, of these speeches, and of those made on the two subsequent evenings, will be published as soon as possible. The Secretaries, therefore, refrain from giving even an outline of those speeches.]

Adjourned to Thursday morning, 10 o'clock.

THURSDAY.

Met at the Melodeon, according to adjournment.

The President, in accordance with a previous vote, nominated the following persons a Committee to report a suitable list of officers of the Society for the ensuing year, and they were chosen said Committee:

Edmund Quincy, of Norfolk Co.;
Effingham L. Capron, of Worcester Co.;
William Ashby, of Essex Co.;
Geo. W. Simonds, of Middlesex Co.;
William Durfee, of Bristol Co.;
Johnson Davee, of Plymouth Co;
Addison Everett, of Hampshire Co.;
Joshua H. Robbins, of Barnstable Co.;
Jasper H. York, of Suffolk Co.;
Francis Wood, of Hampden Co.

The resolutions reported by the Business Committee being in order, the meeting was addressed by Nathaniel H. Whiting, of Marshfield.

Mrs. REULON, of R. Island, spoke of the injurious influence of many of the Boston churches, and adduced the instance of a young friend of hers, who had been so corrupted in principle by the preaching of the Baptist churches with which he was connected, as to come to the support of the Fugitive Slave Law, which he had viewed with abhorrence, and had condemned as inhuman and unchristian, when first enacted.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, from the Business Committee, reported the two following resolutions:

Resolved, That all friends of the cause, in attendance at these sessions, be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar each, or such other sum as may be in their power, toward the necessary expenses of this annual meeting—for which purpose they will be called upon, from time to time, by the members of the Finance Committee.

Resolved, That we urge upon all the friends of the cause immediate and earnest attention to meet the exigencies of the time, by taxing themselves, and appealing to those about them for more ample means, to send the living lecturer and the printed page throughout a land now awaking, as ours is, to the momentous importance of the slave question.

After a few words upon the subject, Mr. Phillips moved that the consideration of the second of these two resolutions be made the special business for to-morrow morning, at 11 1-2 o'clock. Adopted, unanimously.

W. L. GARRISON referred to what a previous speaker had said of Moses Stuart, of Andover, lately deceased. What eulogies have been poured out upon this man! and yet who merits the severest censure more than the man who taxed his ingenuity to find a sanction in the Bible for Slavery, who declared that even in the fourth commandment Slavery was provided for, and who had exerted his great influence to reconcile the American people to the Fugitive Slave Law?

Mr. G. next spoke of the course which Louis Kossuth had pursued, since he had been in this country; professing to be a friend of universal freedom, and yet steadfastly refusing to see the three million, two hundred thousand slaves in the land, or say one word for them, but pouring forth unmeasured and most extravagant eulogies on our country and its government. Mr. G. pronounced him a parasite, and recreant to the cause of liberty. He said that there were twelve States in this Union whose united population was only equal to the whole number of slaves in the Union. Suppose the slaves to be transferred thither, and to take the places of the present inhabitants; twelve entire States would be politically annihilated. Yet Kossuth calls ours a Land of Freedom!

Mr. G. referred to the recent case of kidnapping a coloured girl from Chester Co., Pennsylvania, and the death (doubtless the murder) of Joseph C. Miller, from whose house the girl was stolen, and who had gone to Baltimore to endeavour to save her. Between Baltimore and his home, his body had been found, with marks of violence upon it, suspended by two handkerchiefs to a tree. He read, also, from Bibb's *Voice of the Fugitive*, an account of a slave, Isaac Johnson, who, with his wife and child, endeavoured to escape from Slavery. They were pursued, and overtaken in Indiana; a shot from one of the pursuers killed their child, who was upon its mother's back, and the same shot took off part of her ear. They then turned and fought their pursuers, one of whom was killed, and the other fled. Seeing that their child was dead, and they could do it no good, they left it lying by the side of the dead man, and fled. They succeeded in reaching a land of freedom to them, under the protection of a monarch's crown. Yet the Hungarian flatterer is everywhere telling what a *liberty-loving* nation this is!

Mr. Garrison then reviewed the present position of some of the prominent political leaders of the Union.

LUNSFORD LANE, once a slave, but for many years a resident in this neighbourhood (having purchased his freedom), made some very interesting remarks.

WENDELL PHILLIPS presented the following form of a Petition to the United States Senate, which he hoped would be generally signed, in the intervals of our sessions.

To the Senate of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, seeing that the attention of the Senate is turned towards the victims of despotic Governments and inhuman laws, respectfully ask that you would consider the unhappy lot of Drayton and Sayres, inmates of the prisons of the District of Columbia, convicted of acts which all humanity, the wide world over, applauds, and which nothing but barbarous laws condemn; and that you would take immediate measures for their relief.

Voted, That the Resolution on Kossuth be made the special subject of consideration this evening.

Notice was given that, by request of the Board of Managers, Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Salem, would this afternoon deliver before the Society a lecture he had recently prepared for the Salem Anti-Slavery Lyceum.

Adjourned to quarter before three o'clock.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.—The President having called the Society to order, introduced to them Rev. Samuel Johnson.

Mr. Johnson then pronounced his address on the Present Aspects of the Slavery Question in the United States. It was a masterly discussion of the questions of Law, Government, and Conscience, in relation to Slavery. After which, the Society adjourned to the evening.

THURSDAY EVENING.—The Society again met, according to adjournment, Edmund Quincy in the chair.

The sixth Resolution being in order for the evening, was supported, in an exceedingly able manner, by Wm. L. Garrison and Wendell Phillips.

Dr. Daniel Mann, of Boston, defended Kossuth and the course he has pursued—not as faultless, indeed, but, on the whole, as good policy, and dictated by good motives.

Charles C. Burleigh ably replied to Dr. Mann.

Adjourned to Friday, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

FRIDAY.

The Society re-assembled, according to adjournment, at the Melodeon, and was called to order by the President.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the following Resolutions on African Colonisation:

7. Resolved, That among the many revolting spectacles presented to the world is the attempt to colonise the free coloured population of this country in Africa, on account of their complexion: while, at the same time, the oppressed of all other nations, however poor and degraded, are permitted to come to these shores, and to share in all the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

8. Resolved, That nothing can surpass the hypocrisy, injustice, effrontery and impiety of the American Colonisation Society; controlled, as it is, by Southern slaveholders and slave-breeders, and aided by Northern despisers and persecutors of our coloured population; pretending, as it does, the utmost concern for the elevation and improvement of the native Africans, while conspiring for the degradation and enslavement of three millions and a half of coloured Americans, so long as they remain here; and organized, as it is, under the garb of philanthropy, to give greater security to the slave system, to enhance the value of slave property and to get rid of an injured and afflicted class.

9. Resolved, That a true exemplification of the colonisation spirit is seen in the recent adoption of the State Constitution of Indiana, by which pains and penalties are imposed on the coloured residents of that State, and the coloured citizens of other States are prohibited from coming into Indiana.

10. Resolved, That this exclusion of coloured citizens is not only cruel, but unconstitutional—not only inhuman, but treachery to the national compact; and proves the religion and politics of Indiana to be a combination of cant and corruption, of hypocrisy and villany, of perfidy and ruffianism.

11. Resolved, That the friends of impartial liberty should earnestly remonstrate, to the present Congress, against the appropriation of any moneys in the national treasury for the establishment of a line of mail steamships to the western coast of Africa, having among its objects the expatriation of the free coloured population of the United States—such an appropriation, for such an object, being palpably unconstitutional, and disgraceful to the religion and humanity of our nation.

And it was Voted, on motion of Mr. Garrison, that the Resolutions be taken up this evening, at Faneuil Hall.

WILLIAM H. FISH, of HOPEDALE, addressed the meeting, in a very earnest and interesting manner, chiefly upon the instrumentalities by which the Anti-Slavery work is to be carried forward and consummated. These, he said, are not weapons of force or violence, but they are moral and spiritual—those which are mighty through God to the pulling down of the strongholds of all wrong. The Church is to do the work: not the American Church, bloody and defiled with crime, but that Church which is composed of all the true, just and good. 'God is the only power who can do this work,' we are told. True; but not a distant God, superintending afar off machinery which he long ago set in motion: but God incarnated in the lives of men, living in and animating the souls of his children.

DANIEL FOSTER took up the resolution on Kossuth. He thought that Kossuth was not to be ranked with such a traitor as Daniel Webster. In his own country, he had taken a very noble position for the freedom of all; Daniel Webster was taking a precisely opposite course. He likened Kossuth to Horace Mann and Joshua R. Giddings, labouring for the right, but yet too much compromised by their position as politicians. Kossuth had been contrasted with O'Connell, in regard to the stand each took as to American Slavery. On the particular question of American Slavery, Mr. F., admitted that O'Connell stood far before Kossuth; but, as a whole man, he regarded him as far inferior. He expressed his opinion that O'Connell was a demagogue, taking money from the poor of Ireland for selfish ends. (Mr. F., was repeatedly interrupted, during his remarks upon O'Connell; but order was restored, and he concluded what he had to say.)

☞ The hour assigned for the resolution on funds having arrived, it was Voted, On account of reasons assigned by Samuel May, Jr., to reconsider that assignment; and the hour of half-past three in the afternoon was assigned for that purpose.

The discussion proceeded; Mary C. Hinckley, in a few words, replying to Mr. Foster.

Mr. GARRISON showed in how totally different a position Kossuth stood from Mann and Giddings, quoting such expressions of his as this: 'You are a free and happy people; there are no tyrants here.' He vindicated Mr. O'Connell from the charges of Mr. Foster.

J. C. CLUER agreed with what Mr. Foster said about O'Connell, and charged Mr. O'Connell with having offered to send Irish regiments over to England to crush the Chartist movement.

Mr. GARRISON said he did not wish to dispute Mr. Cluer, but he would rather see this offer of Daniel O'Connell, in black and white. Mr. Cluer said he could produce it.

DANIEL MANN supported the view of O'Connell's disinterestedness and devotion to Ireland, which Mr. Garrison had taken. He again justified Kossuth's silence on American Slavery.

WENDELL PHILLIPS in some brief, but very conclusive remarks, defended, Mr. O'Connell from the aspersions which had been cast upon him.

DANIEL FOSTER said the benefit of free discussion was now apparent. He had listened closely to the remarks which had been made; he was now convinced that he had been wrong in his view of the character of Mr. O'Connell, and he withdrew the charge of demagogue, &c., which he had made against him (Great applause).

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH objected to what had been said by several speakers, yesterday and to day, in regard to taking the lives of slaveholders and kidnappers. We ought not to do or say anything to encourage a blood-thirsty spirit. We could not be too careful to keep the cause from all suspicion of relying upon such methods.

P. PILLSBURY said he thought that those speakers, who had undertaken to defend Kossuth, had done more to damage his cause, and to show the weakness and wickedness of his position, than even those who had spoken against him.

Adjourned to quarter before 3 o'clock,

FRIDAY AFTERNOON.—The chair was taken by Effingham L. Capron.

G. W. F. Mellen spoke in regard to Kossuth, and offered a long series of resolutions, upon which no action was proposed.

The hour of half-past three, assigned for the question of funds, having arrived, the resolution on that subject was read by the Secretary, and was spoken to by Parker Pillsbury and Nathaniel H. Whiting.

CHARLES SPEAR explained the matter which had been referred to by Mr. Pillsbury, that the two daughters of William W. Brown went to England with him, on board the British mail steamer, as *servants*. The agent of the steamer refused to take them as passengers, and would allow them to go only as servants. He had therefore consented to their taking that name, rather than they should be deprived of the opportunity of going to their father. Thus prejudice against colour had sway in a British mail steamer, as well as on our own shores.

Mrs. REDLON and MARY C. HINCKLEY protested against the employment of police officers to keep Abigail Folsom out of this meeting.

Mr. MAY, Mr. GARRISON and others showed the necessity of protecting the meetings from disorderly persons and insult. No injustice was done to Mrs. Folsom.

LUCY STONE spoke of those influences, higher and better than money, and without which all money was valueless, to carry forward our holy enterprise.

W. L. GARRISON offered the following resolution, which was responded to, and passed, with acclamation:

Resolved, That the anniversary of the kidnapping of Thomas Sims, in April last, be duly celebrated in this city on the recurrence of that memorable day, under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Edmund Quincy, from the Committee on the Nomination of officers, reported the following list, which being accepted by the Society, the individuals named therein were elected officers for the ensuing year:

President.
FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

Vice Presidents.
ANDREW ROBESON, New Bedford.
EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.
STILLMAN LOTHROP, Cambridge.
AMOS FARNSWORTH, Groton.
ADIN BALLOU, Milford.
JOHN M. FISK, West Brookfield.
JOSHUA T. EVERETT, Princeton.
EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, Worcester.
JEFFERSON CHURCH, Springfield.
OLIVER GARDNER, Nantucket.
HENRY I. BOWDITCH, Boston.
JOHN C. GORE, Roxbury.
JOSIAH HENSHAW, West Brookfield.
CAROLINE WESTON, Weymouth.
BENJAMIN SNOW, Jr., Fitchburg.
GEORGE MILES, Westminister.
JAMES N. BUFFUM, Lynn.
CYRUS PEIRCE, Newton.
JOHN T. HILTON, Cambridgeport.
THOMAS T. STONE, Salem.
BOURNE SPOONER, Plymouth.
WILLIAM ASHBY, Newburyport.
JOHN BAILEY, Lynn.
CHARLES F. HOVEY, Boston.
J. S. STAFFORD, Cummington.
JAMES RUSSEL LOWELL, Cambridge.
RICHARD CLAP, Dorchester.

Corresponding Secretary.
EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.

Recording Secretary.
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Boston.

Treasurer.
SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

Auditor.
EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

Counsellors—William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria Weston Chapman, John Rogers, Cornelius Bramhall, Anne W. Weston, Eliza Lee Follen, John M. Spear, Charles K. Whipple, Samuel May, Jr., Wm. I. Bowditch, John T. Sargent.

Adjourned, to meet in Faneuil Hall, at 7 1-2 o'clock.

FRIDAY EVENING.—The Society assembled in Faneuil Hall, which was filled at the appointed hour.

The chair was taken at 7 1-2 o'clock, by Edmund Quincy, who announced the character and objects of the meeting.

The Resolutions assigned for the evening were read by the Secretary.

W. L. GARRISON spoke ably in exposure of the hypocritical and oppressive character of the African Colonisation scheme. He was heard with close attention.

WENDELL PHILLIPS followed. He took up the Resolutions relating to the action of the City Government in the case of Thomas Sims. A speech of more terrible sarcasm is rarely heard. It stirred up the passions of the baser sort of those present. They frequently interrupted Mr. P. with calling for cheers for Daniel Webster, and others; but not a word of Mr. Phillips' remarks was lost.

Mr. Garrison having announced that the platform was free to any one who desired to defend Mr. Webster in a manly and not a rowdyish way, a young man, who gave his name as Abraham G. Drake, came forward, professedly to undertake that task. After a strange medley of talk, but little of which related to Mr. Webster, and in which he declared himself a 'regular loco-foco, a thorough-going, Cass, *pro-slavery* Democrat,' and as 'going in for the Fugitive Slave Law'—having exposed his own shame, and disgusted the decent part of the audience, he left the platform.

The following Resolution, from the Business Committee, was offered:

Resolved, That the craven and time-serving conduct of Theobald Mathew and Louis Kossuth, under the poisonous influence of the American atmosphere, makes us remember afresh and honour anew the magnanimous spirit and courageous consistency of that true friend of America and of the human race, GEO. THOMPSON, a man whose sympathies, overleaping the boundaries of nationality, include within their embrace the oppressed of all climes and all complexions.

The President then announced that, as this was a meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, though we welcomed all to our discussions, none but members could be permitted to vote, and the votes of no others would be counted.

The Resolutions before the Society were then put to vote, and unanimously adopted.

And the Society adjourned, *sine die.*

N. B. The collections made by the Finance Committee for expenses of the meeting, and as donations to the Society, amounted to $340. Pledges were given, also, to the amount of $800.

☞ The number of names appended to the Petition in behalf of Drayton and Sayres, during the meeting, was 267.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, *Recording Secretary.*
CORNELIUS BRAMHALL, } *Assistant Secretaries.*
SAMUEL MAY, JR., }

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

[OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.]

THE Sixteenth Anti-Slavery Fair was held in Sansom Hall, on the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th days of December, 1851. The removal from the Assembly Buildings, where, for nine years, our Fairs have been held, was in consequence of the destruction by fire of those buildings, during the year. But the circumstances of removal from so eligible a location, produced no perceptibly unfavourable effects upon the Fair. It was attended by numerous visitors, and the deep interest manifested in it was unabated till its close. On the third evening, the audience was entertained by eloquent speeches from Wm. H. Furness and Joshua R. Giddings, and appropriate songs from Joshua Hutchinson; and on the last afternoon, a musical entertainment was given in an adjoining room, for the benefit of the Fair, by Joshua Hutchinson.

We cannot attempt to mention even the names of the numerous donors to the Fair. Our coadjutors of Bristol, Byberry, Newtown, and Chester County, were present at their respective tables; and donations were sent from Boston, New York, Staten Island, Wilmington, Woodbury, Mullica Hill, Darby, Norristown, Salem, and Wrightstown, and from many of our citizens. Our friends, both in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, made a liberal response to our request for evergreens, to the great abundance and tasteful arrangement of which, the Hall owed much of its beauty.

The receipts of the Fair, were	$1665 91
Expenses, ...	316 23
Balance,	$1349 68

From the success of the present year, the Committee derive encouragement for commencing, at an early period, and with fresh vigour, their preparation for the Fair of 1852, and they earnestly solicit the hearty co-operation of the friends of our cause in the city and country.

On behalf of the Committee,

MARGARET JONES, Chn.

—*Pennsylvania Freeman.*

THE TEMPERANCE PETITIONS.—The number of petitioners to the Assembly of this State, for a law prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors already amounts to between 230,000 and 240,000.

DISMISSED FOR SPEAKING THE TRUTH.—It is reported that Dr. Whedan, one of the Professors in Michigan University, has been dismissed from his chair, "for preaching a higher law sermon."

WHO FILLS THE OFFICES?—There are 979 governmental offices at Washington, of which 242 are filled by citizens of Virginia, 107 by those of the District, 80 by New York, 28 by Massachusetts, 77 by Maryland, 19 by Connecticut, 13 by Vermont, 17 by New Hampshire, and 91 by Pennsylvania.

Marriages.

GOLDSCHMIDT—LIND.—In Boston, on the 5th inst., at the residence of Mr. S. G. Ward, by Rev. Charles Mason, assisted by Rev. Dr. Wainwright, of New York, the Swedish Consul, Hon. Edward Everett, Mr. and Mrs. T. W. Ward, Mr N. J. Bowditch, her legal adviser, and other friends being present—Otto Goldschmidt, of Hamburgh, to Mdlle. Jenny Lind, of Stockholm, Sweden.

Deaths.

BERRIEN.—At Savannah, Ga., Monday morning the 2d inst, Eliza Cecil, wife of the Hon. J. M. Berrien, and daughter of Col. James Hunter.

LENOX.—At Cambridge, Mass., suddenly, Charles Lenox, aged about 60. He was uncle to Charles Lenox Remond, of Salem, Mass.

Receipts for the Standard.

From January 1st to February 1st, 1852.

624	Miss A. M. Whiting, Concord, Mass.	$2 00
	Subscribers at Cork, Ireland, by R. D. Webb	1 92
779	James Haughton, Dublin, Ireland	2 40
572	Richard Allen, " "	3 00
610	James A. Burr, Ludlowville, N. Y.	50
604	Wm. G. Bradley, Baltimore, Md.	2 00
605	Joseph Shergour, South Lansing, N. Y.	2 50
657	Francis Larabee, Eddyville, N. Y.	2 00
657	Mrs. Mary Hubbard, Ashford, N. Y.	2 00
776	Isaac Allen, Gowanda, N. Y.	10 00
656	Mrs. Jas. S. Gibons, N. Y. City	2 00
657	J. B. Roberts & Co., Milltown, N. Y.	2 00
656	Joseph Perry, Keene, N. H.	2 00
624	Mrs. Nancy Babcock, Boston, Mass.	2 00
658	S. Boyce, Lavanna, N. Y.	2 00
632	Samuel G. Bowen, Lavanna, N. Y.	1 00
658	Sarah J. Alsop, " "	2 00
572	J. Johnson, Boston, Mass.	2 00
538	Mrs. Samuel May, Boston, Mass.	2 00
624	J. M. Robbins, Milton, Mass.	2 00
642	B. D. Brown, Unadilla Forks, N. Y.	2 00
630	Thomas P. Nichols, Brooklyn, "	1 00
572	A. G. Campbell, Patterson, N. J.	5 00
633	Alvin Decker, Newville, N. Y	1 00
638	Elijah Covel, " "	1 00
659	John Palmerton, Collins Centre, N. Y.	2 00
645	Edwin Wilbur, Little Compton, R. I.	2 00
624	Otis R. Potter, N. Y. City	1 00
619	F. Hover, Richmond, Ind.	1 00
634	Alcinde Smith, " "	1 00
642	Wm. Davis, Lake Ridge, N. Y.	2 00
654	Wm. K. Foster, Canandagua, N. Y.	2 00
634	John Dyslyn, Newville, N. Y.	3 00
607	Charles Denister, Leesville, Ohio	1 00
660	Grace W. Dayton, Black Rock, N. Y.	2 00
634	Adin Morton, Groton, N. Y.	1 00
660	R. B. Carpenter, " "	2 00
660	Wm. Allen, " "	2 00
660	Samuel Lacy, Locke, "	2 00
660	H. S. Greenfield, Locke, N. Y.	2 00
698	Wm. A. Tyson, N. Y. City	1 00
		$84 32

DONATIONS.

L. Wetmore, N. Y. City	100 00
Edward M. Davis, Philadelphia	50 00
James Mott, Philadelphia	50 00
Pennsylvania Female A. S. Society	18 75
Table for the American A. S. Society at the Pennsylvania Fair	81 25
	$300 00

Parker Pillsbury's Collections in Central New York.

Contribution at Brockett's Bridge	10 00
Zenos Brockett, of do to redeem pledge	11 00
Thomas Cole, Salisbury	10 00
Mrs. Thos. Cole, do to redeem pledge	2 50
Norway contribution	12 95
H. S. Horton, to redeem pledge	1 00
Contribution at Salisbury Centre	48
Contribution at Rockton	1 96
Fairfield.	
Lothrop S. and Mary E. Kelsey, to redeem pledge	6 00
Mr. and Mrs. David Cole, $1 each	2 00
Contribution	3 49
Cold Brook contribution	1 73
Middleville do	1 59
Alfred White	1 00
Newville.	
Ralph Simms, to redeem pledge	10 00
John Denman, do do	1 00
Sarah Ann Holmes, do	1 00
Contribution in Newville	5 66
Contribution at Manheim	78
Contribution at Cedarville	5 27
H. L. Easton, of do to redeem pledge	5 00
George G. Ritchie, to redeem pledge	2 00
Contribution at East Winfield	5 90
Dean Burgess, of do	1 00
Hiram Brown, do	1 00
Contribution at Exeter Hollow	8 49
Elisha Huntley, do to redeem pldg.	50
Nancy Rice, do to do	50
Elisha Washburn, do to do	1 00
Contribution at Jerusalem	95
Contribution at West Winfield	3 65
Contribution at Burlington Flats	1 69
Contribution at Leonardsville	1 82
Noyes Stillman, to redeem pledge	2 00
Contribution at Unadilla Forks	5 75
P. D. Stillman, do to redeem pldg.	50
Contribution at Springfield, Mass.	1 00
	$132 16

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts for *Standard*	84 32
Donations	300 00
Collections	132 16
Total	$516 48

Notices.

Anti-Slavery Meeting at Union Village, N. Y.

THE First Annual Meeting of "Old Saratoga" District Anti-Slavery Society will be held at Union Village, Washington County, New York, to commence at 2 o'clock, P. M., on TUESDAY, Feb. 24th, to continue through the evening, and the following day and evening, and perhaps the forenoon of Thursday, the 26th.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON and PARKER PILLSBURY will be in attendance.

Every friend of the Slave and every enquirer after truth, in Eastern New York, but more especially in Saratoga, Rensselaer and Washington Counties, is earnestly invited to attend and participate in our deliberations.

SAMUEL WILBUR, Secretary.

North Easton, N. Y., Feb. 12, 1852.

Anti-Slavery Convention in Cincinnati, Ohio.

FRIENDS OF FREEDOM—We invite you to meet in Convention in Cincinnati, on TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY, and THURSDAY, April, 27th, 28th, and 29th, 1852, commencing at 9 1-2 o'clock A. M., of the first named day.

We call upon you without distiction of party, to come together in the spirit of fraternal love, to inquire what more can be done for the three millions of slaves in these United States, and to take such advance measures as a pure Christianity, a true patriotism, and an exalted charity, require of sound hearted philanthropists.

How many of you will be ready to respond to this call? How many of you will turn aside for a few days from your ordinary avocations to give attention to the cries of humanity? How many of you will by some of the funds you ordinarily spend beyond your necessities, to save enough to take you to the Convention, or to send a representative from your neighbourhood? Come, Friends, prove your faith by your works, and let the poor, crushed slaves have some comfort of hope in hearing of a great and enthusistic Convention of devoted men and women from all parts of our extensive country, weeping over their wrongs, and pouring out words of fire in advocacy of their rights.

We offer you our hospitalities, and shall be happy to entertain our guests in a way to make their visit agreeable to them. Come, and let us lay our gifts upon the altar of an exalted and exalting faith, and renew our Christian vow, that whilst there is a slave to be liberated, there shall not be wanting an Abolitionist to strike the fetters from his limbs.

Yours for the right and the humane, for justice and for love.

Mrs. Sarah H. Ernst,
" Elizabeth Coleman,
" Julia Harwood,
" A. Mann,
" Mary M. Guild,
Miss. Kesiah Emory,
} *Committee of Ladies.*

Edward Harwood,
John H. Coleman,
John Jolliffe,
Christian Donaldson,
Wm. Henry Brisbane,
Levi Coffin,
} *Committee of Gent'n.*

Cincinnati, O., January 5th, 1852.

The Practical Christian.

A fortnightly Paper: the organ of the HOPEDALE COMMUNITY, Milford, Mass.

This paper is now in its 22th Volume, well printed and ably edited. Devoted to Christian Socialism and Universal Reform. ADIN BALLOU, Editor. A. G. SPALDING, Publisher. Terms, $1,00 per annum, payable *in advance*.

Miscellany.

JOHN STERLING.*

IN TWO PARTS—PART I.

A pard-like spirit, beautiful and swift.

"WHO was John Sterling?" is a question we have more than once heard put since the announcement of his biography by Carlyle. Sterling! was he some hero? or does Carlyle, who so often speaks through personations of his own invention, mean by Sterling some Anti M'Growler, Plugson of Undershot, or Sir Jabesh Windbag? No! John Sterling was a veritable man—a living, struggling, hard-working man—a really loving and lovable man—one who took captive the hearts of oven the sternest, and bound them to him by the strong ties of friendship. He seems to have been one of those beautiful natures that carry about with them a charm to captivate all beholders. They are full of young genius, full of promise, full of enthusiasm; and seem to be on the high-road towards honour. fame, and glory, when suddenly their career is cut short by death, and their friends are left bewailing and lamenting.

Just such another character was Charles Pemberton—a man of somewhat kindred genius to Sterling—who had *done* comparatively little, but had excited great hopes among a circle of ardent friends and admirers, whom he had riveted to him by certain indefinable personal and intellectual charms; when he was stricken down by death, and, like Sterling, left only a few scattered "Remains" to be judged by. Poor Keats, too, died just as he had given to the world the promise of one of its greatest men, but not before he had sent down into the future, strains of undying poesy. Shelley, too! What a loss was there! What glorious promise of a Man did he not offer! But the names of the great, who have died in youth, are more than can be told: as Shelley sang—

> The good die first,
> While they whose hearts are dry as summer's dust
> Burn to their socket.

But what of Sterling? What did he do? What has he left as a legacy to us by which to know and remember him?

We have now two lives of him, written by two of his many intimate friends and devoted admirers—Archdeacon Hare and Thomas Carlyle. That two such men should have written a life of Sterling, would argue of itself something in his character and career more than ordinary. Archdeacon Hare's came first: his work was in two volumes, containing the collected Essays and Tales of John Sterling, with a memoir of his Life. On reading that Life, interesting and beautiful though it was, one could not help feeling that there was a good deal remaining untold, and that the tone adopted in speaking of John Sterling's opinions on religious subjects was unnecessarily apologetic. It seems to have been this circumstance which has drawn forth the Life by Carlyle. "Archdeacon Hare," says Carlyle, "takes up Sterling as a clergyman merely. Sterling, I find, was a curate for exactly eight months. But he was a man, and had relation to the Universe for eight and thirty years: and it is in this latter character, to which all the others were but features and transitory hues, that we wish to know him. His battle with hereditary Church-formulas was severe; but it was by no means his one battle with things inherited, nor indeed his chief battle; neither, according to my observation of what it was, is it successfully delineated or summed up in this book. *A pale sickly shadow in torn surplice* is presented to us here; weltering bewildered amid heaps of what you call 'Hebrew Old-clothes;' wrestling, with impotent impetuosity, to free itself from the baleful imbroglio, as if that had been its one function in life: who, in this miserable figure, would recognise the brilliant, beautiful, and cheerful John Sterling, with his ever-flowing wealth of ideas, fancies, imaginations; with his frank affections, inexhaustible hopes, audacities, activities, and general radiant vivacity of heart and intelligence, which made the presence of him an illumination and inspiration wherever he went? It is too bad. Let a man be honestly forgotten when his life ends; but let him not be misremembered in this way. To be hung up as *an ecclesiastical scare crow*, as a target for heterodox and orthodox *to practise archery upon*, is no fate that can be due to the memory of Sterling."

And so Carlyle determined to give *this* more catholic portraiture of his deceased friend. Let us now examine the incidents and the more prominent features of Sterling's life.

The life is that of a literary man, and presents comparatively few incidents. Even as a literary man, he was never at any time a notoriety, and his name never filled the mouths of men, nor was seen in the newspapers. He was comparatively unknown, except by his own circle of ardent admirers. We give a few facts about his early history.

Sterling was born at Kaimes Castle, in the island of Bute, Scotland, in 1806, of Irish parents, who were both of Scotch extraction; the mother was somewhat proud of being a descendant of Wallace, the Scottish hero. Edward Sterling, the father, pursued farming; he had been a militia captain, and took to it as a calling, by way of helping out the family means. From Bute, he removed to Llanblethian, in Glamorganshire, in 1809, where the family remained till 1814. Here the young Sterling's childhood was nurtured amid forms of wild and romantic beauty. But his father, the captain, was an ardent-minded, active man, and could ill confine himself to the small details of Welsh farming. His thoughts were abroad. He corresponded with newspapers. He wrote a pamphlet. He sent letters to the *Times*, signed *Vetus*, which were afterwards thought worthy of being collected and reprinted. The captain went further. He left his farm in Wales, and proceeded to Paris, with the project of acting as foreign correspondent for the *Times* newspaper. His family accompanied him to Paris, where they staid some eight months, until the sudden return of Napoleon from Elba, when they had to decamp to England on the instant. Captain Sterling returned to London, where he finally settled; and before long became a very notorious, if not a distinguished personage. His connection with the *Times* newspaper grew closer, until at length he became extensively known as "The Thunderer of the *Times*," and was publicly lashed by O'Connell in that character; Sterling, on his part, returning the great agitator's compliments with full interest. The character and history of this *Times* editor—a great power of his day—are given at some length by Carlyle, who seems to dwell upon the subject with much pleasure. Indeed, it forms one of the most delightful and interesting parts of the book.

The boy was schooled in London, and grew as boys like him will grow; he was quick, clever, cheerful, gallant, generous, self-willed, and rather difficult to manage. A little letter of his to his mother is given in the biography, written when he was twelve years, showing that he had "run away" from his home at Blackheath, to Dover. The cause had been some slight or indignity put upon him which he could not bear. But he was brought home, and like other child's "slights" it was soon forgotten. As a boy, he was a great reader in the promiscuous line; reading *Edinburg Reviews*, cart-loads of novels, and "wading like Ulysses towards his palace, through infinite dung." At sixteen he was sent to Glasgow University, where he lived with some of his mother's connections. Then, at nineteen, he proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he had for his tutor Julius Hare, now the archdeacon, his biographer.

Though not an exact scholar, Sterling became well and extensively read, possessing great facilities of assimilation for all kinds of mental diet. His studies were irregular and discursive, but extensive and encyclopedic. At Cambridge he was brought into friendly connection with many afterwards distinguished men—Frederick Maurice, Richard Trench, John Kemble, Charles Buller, Monckton Milnes, and others, who were afterwards in life his fast friends. Sterling was a ready and a brilliant speaker at the Union Club; and already began to exhibit strong "Radical" leanings, displaying no small daring in his attacks upon established ideas and things. "In short," says Carlyle, "he was a young and ardent soul, looking with hope and joy into a world which was infinitely beautiful to him, though overhung with falsities and foul cobwebs as world never was before; overloaded, over-clouded, to the zenith and the nadir of it, by incredible uncredited traditions, solemnly sordid hypocrisies, and beggarly deliriums old and new; which latter class of objects it was clearly the part of every noble heart to expend all its lightnings and energies in burning up without delay, and sweeping into their native Chaos out of such a Cosmos as this."

It was Sterling's intention to take a degree in Law at Cambridge, but, like many other of his intentions, it came to nothing; and after a two years' residence, his university life ended. What to do next? He has grown into manhood, and must have a "profession." What is it to be? Is it to be the Law, or the Church? or, is he to enter the career of trade, and make money in it, thereby to secure "the temporary hallelujah of flunkeys." His "Radical" notions gave him a deep aversion to the pursuit of the Law; and as for the Church, at that time, he had sported ideas at Cambridge about its "black dragoon," which showed that his leanings were not that way. The true career for Sterling, in Carlyle's opinion, was Parliament, and it was possibly with some such ultimate design in view, that Sterling engaged himself as secretary to a public association of gentlemen, got up for the purpose of opening the trade to India. But the association did not live long, and the secretaryship lapsed.

One other course remained open for Sterling—the career of Literature, and he plunged into it. Joining his friend Manrice, the copyright of the *Athenæum* (which Silk Buckingham had some time before established) was purchased, and there he printed his first literary effusions, many of which are preserved in Archdeacon Hare's Collection—crude, imperfect, yet singularly beautiful and attractive papers, as for instance, *The Lycian Painter*, containing seeds of great promise. Yet, as Carlyle observes, "a grand melancholy is the prevailing impression they leave; partly as if, while the surface was so blooming and opulent, the heart of them was still vacant, sad, and cold. The writer's heart is indeed still too vacant, except of beautiful shadows and reflexes and resonances; and is far from joyful, though it wears commonly a smile." He himself used afterwards to speak of this as his "period of darkness."

The *Athenæum* did not prosper in Sterling's hands. He did not understand commercial management, which is absolutely necessary for the success even of a literary journal. So the *Athenæum* was transferred to other hands, under which it throve vigorously. But the *Athenæum* had introduced Sterling into the literary life of London, which tended to confirm him in his pursuit. Among the celebrities with whom he now had familiar intercourse, was Coleridge, whose home at Highgate Hill he often visited, and there he listened to that eloquent talker playing the magician with his auditors—"a dusky sublime character, who sat there as a kind of *Magus*, girt in mystery and enigma, whispering strange things, uncertain whether oracle or jargon." The influence which Coleridge exercised upon the religious thinking of his day was unquestionably great, dreamy and speculative though he was: but whether it will survive, whether the religious life of the world will be advanced in any way by Coleridge's lofty musings, is matter of great doubt to many; because, glorious though the rumbling of his sonorous voice was, you too often felt that it died away in sound, leaving no solid, appreciable, practical, intelligible meaning behind it. But on this wide question we shall not enter. Certain it was that Sterling, notwithstanding his "Radical" notions, was for the time deeply influenced by his intercourse with Coleridge, and by what Carlyle calls his "thrice-refined pabulum of transcendental moonshine." This sufficiently appears in the novel of *Arthur Coningsby*, which Sterling wrote in 1830—his only prose book.

About this time, Sterling deeply interested himself in the fate of some poor Spanish *emigres*, driven out of their own country by some revolution there, and then vegetating about Somer's Town, beating the pavement in Euston Square. Their chief was Gen. Torrijos, with whom Sterling had become intimate, and in whose fortunes he took a warm interest. Torrijos was zealous in the cause of his country; he would effect a landing, revolutionize and liberalize Spain; but he wanted money. Sterling was interested by the romance of the thing, and he also warmly sympathized with the sentiments of the old general. He proceeded to raise money amongst his friends; money was collected; arms were bought; a ship was provided by Lieutenant Boyd, an Irishman; the ship was in the Thames, taking in its armament, when lo! the police suddenly appeared on board, and the vessel was seized and its stores confiscated. Torrijos, Boyd, and some others, did afterwards manage to land in Spain; where they met with an exceedingly tragical ending.

But something else issued from this Spanish misadventure, of interest to Sterling. He had become acquainted with the Misses Barton, the daughters of Lieutenant-General Barton of the Life Guards—very delightful young ladies. He seems to have excited something more than merely friendly feelings in Susannah's bosom; for when he went to take leave of her, to embark in the projected Spanish invasion, the following scene occurred—

"'You are going, then, to Spain? To rough it amid the storms of war and perilous insurrection; and with that weak health of yours; and—we shall never see you more then!' Miss Barton, all her gaiety gone, the dimpling softness become liquid sorrow, and the musical ringing voice one wail of woe, 'burst into tears'—so I have it on authority. Here was one possibility about to be strangled that made unexpected noise! Sterling's interview ended in the offer of his hand, and the acceptance of it!"

So Sterling quitted the Spanish expedition, and married Susannah Barton. But scarcely was he married ere he fell seriously ill—so ill that he lay utterly prostrate for weeks, and his life was long despaired of. His career after this was a constant alternation of health and illness, rampant good spirits and prostrate feebleness. His lungs were affected, and consumption began to show indications of its coming. The doctors, however, gave hopes of him—only it was necessary he should remove to a warmer climate. His family had inherited a valuable property in the West Indies, at St. Vincent, whither he went to reside in 1831, and remained in that beautiful island, under the hot sun of the tropics, for about fifteen months, returning to England greatly improved in health. From thence he went to Bonn, in Germany, where he met with his old friend and quandom tutor, the Rev. Julius Hare, then and now Rector of Herstmorceux, in Sussex. With him, Sterling had much serious talk on religious matters.

Sterling, still under the influence of the Coleridgian views, which had been working within him at St. Vincent and since, expressed to Mr. Hare a wish to enter the Church, as a minister, which Mr. Hare "strongly urged" him to do, offering to appoint him to his own curacy at Herstmorceaux, which was then vacant. Shortly after, he returned to England, was ordained deacon at Chichester, in 1834, and was appointed curate immediately after, entering earnestly on the duties of that calling. But this lasted only for some eight months, when his health, certain "misgivings," doubts, and distresses of mind, compelled him to withdraw, and he left London again, finally to embark on the great sea of literature, which he felt to be his proper vocation. Carlyle designates his acceptance of the curacy as "the crowning error" of Sterling's life. "No man of Sterling's veracity" says he, "had he clearly consulted his own heart, or had his own heart been capable of clearly responding, and not been dazzled and bewildered by transient fantasies, and theosophic moonshine, *could* have undertaken this function. His heart would have answered: 'No, thou canst not. What is incredible to thee, thou shalt not, at thy soul's peril, attempt to believe! Elsewhither for a refuge, or die here. Go to perdition, if thou must—but not with a lie in thy mouth!'"

Carlyle twice heard Sterling preach, and thus describes the occasions: "It was in some new college-chapel in Somerset House; a very quiet small place, the audience student-looking youths, with a few elder people, perhaps mostly friends of the preacher's. The discourse, delivered with a grave sonorous composure, and far surpassing in talent the usual run of sermons, had withal an air of human veracity, as I still recollect, and bespoke dignity and piety of mind; but gave me the impression rather of artistic excellence than of unction or inspiration in that kind. Sterling returned with us to Chelsea that day; and in the afternoon we went on the Thames Putney-ward together, we two with my wife; under the sunny skies, on the quiet water, and with copious cheery talk, the remembrance of which is still present enough to me.

"This was properly my only specimen of Sterling's preaching. Another time, late in the same autumn, I did indeed attend him one evening to some church in the City—a big church behind Cheapside, 'built by Wren,' as he carefully informed me—but there, in my wearied mood, the chief subject of reflection was the almost total vacancy of the place, and how an eloquent soul was preaching to mere lamps and prayerbooks; and of the sermons I retain no image. It came up in the way of banter, if he ever urged the duty of 'Church extension,' which already he very seldom did, and at length never, what a specimen we once had of bright lamps, gilt prayerbooks, baize-lined pews, Wren-built architecture; and how, in almost all directions, you might have fired a musket through the church, and hit no Christian life. A terrible outlook, indeed, for the apostolic labourer in the brick-and-mortar line!"—*Eliza Cook's Journal.*

* The Life of John Sterling. By Thomas Carlyle.

THE STORY OF AUSTIN DABNEY.

[Taken by the *Literary World* from a Lecture by Hon. GEO R. GILMER, of Georgia.]

"MANY years before the Revolutionary war, a Virginia gentleman of the old school resided upon his plantation, not many miles from Richmond. He was a bachelor of long standing, who indulged in card-playing, drinking, horse-racing, and other dissolute practices. His wealth consisted in a large landed estate, and a great number of negroes, who had either descended to him or been born his. No white person lived with him, except a little girl, whose parentage was unknown to the neighbours. When this bachelor gentleman left home upon his frolics, this little girl remained under the care of a negro mammy. She grew up with a sort of nurture, until she ceased to be a child; knowing scarcely any one except the old bachelor, and the negroes of his household. Suddenly and secretly the old gentleman left his plantation, taking with him this girl. He went to North Carolina, where he remained some time with a man by the name of Aycock. Aycock afterwards removed to Georgia, along with the emigrants from North Carolina, who first settled Wilkes county. When the contest between the Whigs and Tories became a struggle for the lives of all, men, women, and children, Aycock was called upon to do his part in defending his fireside. From the time when he was required to fight, he saw a terrible Tory constantly pointing a loaded gun at him. Fearing to face the danger, he offered as a substitute a mulatto lad who had previously passed as his slave, but whom he acknowledged to be free, when he found that he would not otherwise be received as a soldier. The lad was stout and resolute; he was enrolled in his captain's company by the name of Austin Dabney. No soldier under Clark did better service during the Revolutionary struggle. In the battle of Kettle Creek, the hardest ever fought in Georgia between the Whigs and Tories, Austin Dabney was shot down, and left on the battle ground, very dangerously wounded. He was found, carried home, and taken care of by a man by the name of Harris, who lived close by. It was long before Austin Dabney recovered. Gratitude for the kindness which he had received became the ruling feeling of his heart. He worked for Harris and his children, and served them more faithfully and efficiently than any slave ever served a master. He moved with them from Wilkes county to Madison, soon after the latter county was organized. He sent his benefactor's oldest son to school, and afterwards to this College, by the hard earnings of his own hands. He lived upon the poorest food, and wore old, patched clothes, that he might make young Harris a gentleman. When Harris left Franklin College, Austin Dabney placed him in the office of Stephen Upson, then at the head of the legal profession in upper Georgia. When Harris was examined at the Superior Court of Oglethorpe county, took the oath of admission to the bar, and received the fraternal shake of the hand from the members of the profession, Austin Dabney was standing outside, leaning on the railing which inclosed the Court; two currents of tears trickling down his mulatto face, from the remembrance of the kindness which he had received, and thankfulness for the power which had been given him to do something in return.

"Stephen Upson was a member of the Legislature when the surveys of public land, which were too small to be drawn for in the lottery of 1819, were disposed of by law. Austin Dabney had not been permitted to have a chance in the lottery, with the other soldiers of the Revolutionary war. Stephen Upson used his controlling influence in the Legislature to procure the passage of a law, giving to Austin Dabney a valuable fraction. One of the members from Madison county voted for the law. At the next election, the people of that county were excited into the hottest party contest by this conduct of their representative. It was thought an indignity to white men, that a mulatto should be put upon an equality with them in the distribution of the public lands, though not one had done better service.

"The United States Government allowed Austin Dabney a pension, on account of his limb, which was broken at the battle of Kettle Creek. Austin Dabney went once a year to Savannah to draw his pension. On one occasion he travelled thither with Col. Wiley Pope, a citizen of wealth, his neighbour and friend. They were very intimate and social on the road, and until they entered the streets of Savannah. As they were passing along through the city, Col. Pope observed to Austin Dabney that he was a sensible man, and knew the prejudices which forbade his associating with him in city society. Austin Dabney checked his horse and fell in the rear, after the fashion of mulatto servants following their masters. They passed by the house of Gen. James Jackson, the Governor of the State. He was standing in his door as Col. Pope rode by; he suffered him to pass without notice. Recognising Austin Dabney, he ran into the street—seized him by the hand—drew him from his horse, and carried him into his house; where he made him stay as his guest, whilst his business kept him in Savannah. Georgia's patriot hero and her faithful mulatto soldier, were devoted friends of Franklin College, and deserve to be remembered on this day of her festivity."

From John Thomas, in Paris.

Vang Doo, Rew River Lee, Paris, Dec. 3, 1851.

> O, Mary Ann! O, Mary Ann!
> Well may you bless your stars,
> You're living in a quiet land,
> Away from *Coodytars*.
>
> You'd never sneer at home, and wish
> That you was here instead,
> If you only knew what petty pangs
> Is a Frenchman's daily bread.
>
> Oh! when I think what foolish folk
> This city do contain,
> I can't quite fathom why it's call'd
> Department of the Sane.
>
> They've been and filled the streets with troops,
> With Marshal Lor to lead 'em;
> And you *may* guess them soldiers take
> Great liberties with freedom.
>
> For 'twixt the Assembly and the Prince
> There's been a final fight,
> And he has changed the Law of May
> Into the Law of Might.
>
> Long while, it seems, these silly men
> Did nothing but dispute;
> But finding talking did no good,
> Resolved to have a Mute.*
>
> So, at the house of Mister Baze
> These foolish plotters met;
> (We've got green Baize at home you know,
> But none so *green*, as yet.)
>
> Their schemes the Prince don't tell us yet,
> For fear we should abhor 'em;
> But says they meant to break the law,
> And so he broke it for 'em.
>
> And one John Darms they sent to seek
> The plotters far and near;
> And took 'em all away in vans,
> With bag'nets in their rear.
>
> And Tears, the cause of all his woe,
> He managed to secure;
> And sent him safe away to Ham,
> His wicked tongue to cure.
>
> And then to lessen our alarm,
> He made a Proclamation,
> A hidding all the army rise
> And calm our hagitation.
>
> "These fellows said you should be slaves—
> I say you shan't," sez he;
> "And I've got fifty thousand men,
> Who'll force *you* to be free."
>
> Now what will be the bend of this
> There's no one here can tell;
> For some folks think they'll make the Prince
> An Emperor as well.
>
> "For is'nt he as good," they say,
> "As him we had before?
> If he was a Napoleon,
> This one's a Louis Dor."
>
> Some thinks the Socialists will rise
> And end his troubled days;
> And send him in a chaise and pair
> Away to Pare la shays.
>
> Some wish the Orlines party back,
> Some hope they may miscarry,
> And in their love for Henry Sink,
> Quite sink the Count de Parry.
>
> But as for me I've seen enough,
> Nor longer wish to roam;
> And while they make so free abroad,
> I'll be a slave at home.
>
> John Thomas,
> Valet to the Marquis of Carabas,
> Her Majesty's Charge dafair.
> To Miss Mary Ann Stokes,
> Hupper Ousemaid,
> No. 30 B—— Square.

* Mr. John Thomas probably means *emeute*.

—*Punch.*

THE VIRGINIA MAROONS.

BY EDMUND JACKSON.

IN the West India Islands, but more especially in Jamaica, Cuba and St. Domingo, during the reign of Slavery, it was common for fugitive slaves to seek shelter and security in the mountainous and secluded portions of those islands, where they congregated in small communities, and maintained their freedom at the cost of much privation and, probably, frequent suffering. They were at constant war with the planters, and were hunted with as little mercy as are the royal tigers in the jungels of Bengal. They not unfrequently, however, retaliated upon their persecutors the same measure of vengeance which was meted out to themselves.

Hunting the Maroons as they were termed, was a matter of common occurrence, when their depredations upon any particular locality became troublesome; for their notions of *meum* and *tuum* were, of course, very similar to those of their slaveholding teachers. Such was the state of things in Jamaica previous to emancipation, and such is now substantially the case, I apprehend, in Cuba, and, indeed, in all slaveholding communities. It is not, I think, generally known, however, that our Southern States contain many communities of greater or less numbers, very similar to those of Jamaica and Cuba, though not designated by the name of Maroons, but as "gangs of runaway negroes."

The Atlantic slaveholding States, where these gangs are most frequent, do not afford any mountainous regions to which the Fngitive can resort and set at nought the efforts of his pursuers. Necessity, however, here as elsewhere is the mother of invention; and in lieu of almost inaccessible mountainous regions, the Fugitive avails himself of the numerous and extensive swamps and low grounds which abound in the old and many of the newer slave States.

These swamps are, for the most part, submerged with water the year round, but contain many islands of dry land, slightly elevated above high water mark; and here the Fugitive erects his hut, cultivates, to the best of his very limited means, patches of corn and sweet potatoes, and not unfrequently rears a large family of children. Occasionally, when necessity presses hard, he makes a foray by night upon the nearest plantation or settlement, and helps himself without leave asked or granted. When, however, they seek refuge in swamps of small dimensions and not difficult to penetrate, they are frequently hunted out and captured or slain. Generally, the latter fate overtakes them, a part of the gang being killed on the spot, and the remainder escaping, for the time, to encounter at some future day the doom of their fellows.

The great Dismal Swamp, which lies near the eastern shore of Virginia, and commencing near Norfolk stretches quite into North Carolina, contains a large colony of negroes, who originally obtained their freedom by the grace of God, and their own determined energy, instead of the consent of their owners, or by the help of the Colonisation Society. How long this colony has existed, what is its amount of population, what portion of the colonists are now Fugitives, and what the descendants of Fugitives, are questions not easily determined; nor can we readily avail ourselves of the better knowledge undoubtedly existing in the vicinity of this colony, by reason of the decided objections of those best enabled to gratify our curiosity, to some extent at least, to furnish any information whatever, lest it might be used by Abolitionists for their purposes, as one of them frankly said when questioned about the matter.

Nevertheless, some facts, are, at least, an approximation towards the truth of them, are known respecting this singular community of blacks, who have won their freedom and established themselves securely in the midst of the largest slaveholding State of the South; for from this extensive swamp they are very seldom, if now at all, reclaimed. The chivalry of Virginia, so far as I know, have never yet ventured a slave hunt in the Dismal Swamp, nor is it probably in the power of that State to capture or expel these Fugitives from it. This may appear extravagant. But when it is known how long a much less numerous band of Indians held the everglades of Florida against the forces of the United States, and how much blood and treasure it cost to expel them finally, we may find a sufficient reason for the forbearance of the Ancient Dominion towards the community of Fugitives, domiciliated in their midst. From the character of the population it is reasonable to infer that the United States Marshal has never charged himself with the duty of taking the census of the swamp, and we can only estimate the amount of population by such circumstances as may serve to indicate it. Of these, perhaps the trade existing between the city of Norfolk and the Swamp may furnish the best element of computation. A canal, of which General Washington was one of the projectors, traverses lengthwise through the Swamp, and connects the waters of the Chesapeake with those of Albermarle Sound in North Carolina. Along the line of this canal are located a rough set of traders, whose entire trade is with the Maroons of the Swamp. These *Swamp merchants* obtain their supplies and convey the produce of the Swamp, principally if not entirely, to Norfolk. The articles which the negroes require are, for the most part, salted provisions, Indian corn, coarse cloths and tools; and what they furnish in payment are chiefly staves and shingles.

Thus has been established a trade between Norfolk and the Fugitives, which is wholly contraband, and which would subject the white participants in it to fearful penalties, if they could only be enforced. For, throughout the slave States, it is an offence by law, of the gravest character, to have any dealings whatever with runaway negroes; but "you no catch 'em, you no hab 'em," is emphatically true in the Dismal Swamp, where trader and runaway are alike beyond the reach of Virginia law. An intelligent merchant of near thirty years' business, in Norfolk, estimated the value of slave property lost in the Swamp, at one and a half million of dollars. This, at the usual rate of slave valuation, would give near forty thousand as the population of the Swamp, an estimate, I apprehend, quite too large, as it probably exceeds the number of fugitives now dwelling in all the free States, including those of Canada also.

Be this as it may, however, the main points of interest seem to be sufficiently established, which are these; that a permanent free population of very considerable amount, consisting of those who fled from Slavery, and their descendants, have established themselves, with entire security, in the largest slaveholding State of the South; that though subject, doubtless, to poverty and many privations, they obtain a living, are increasing, and that, through their efforts, and the ordinance of nature, they have established a city of refuge in the midst of Slavery, which has endured from generation to generation, and is likely to continue until Slavery is abolished throughout the land. A curious anomaly this community certainly presents, and its history and destiny are alike suggestive of curiosity and interest.

It is worthy of note, too, in these days of political agitation, that these poor fugitives of Virginia should, long ago, have practically realized the doctrine of a modern political party, successfully established its principles, and made this Swamp, Dismal by nature as name, the only "*free soil*" in all these United States, and the only ground, if such it may be called which has never yet been, and, we think, never will be, polluted by the track of the slave-hunter.

BOSTON, September, 1851.

—*Liberty Bell for 1852.*

THE POSITION OF WOMAN,

WITH REGARD TO MEDICAL SCIENCE.

MRS. C. H. DALL, [says the Boston *Commonwealth*], has an able article on this subject in the *Water Cure Journal*. We make two extracts from it, which will be read with interest. Mrs. Dall has often illustrated in her own case, the arguments she makes in favour of the capacity of women, and the duty of giving them a full opportunity for a thorough education:

"Since the beginning of history, the lives of eighty-nine women, eminent not only for obstetrical skill, but capable of extended medical practice, have been written. Fifty-two of these women were French, forty-one only were married, twenty-eight were remarkable for their contributions to medical instruction and general literature; ten received the degree of M. D from colleges of high standing; and seven only could have had their enthusiasm kindled by their sympathies and affections, for only seven were wives, mothers, or daughters of surgeons. When we say that we know something of eighty-nine women devoted to medical science, we do not mean that no larger number have made themselves distinguished, but that a sufficient degree of study will yield a clear and satisfactory account of these. Little more than a dozen names have come down to us from the period preceding the Christian era. The history of Agnodike has already been presented to you, and four other names may be mentioned which will possess a general interest. They are those of Aspasia, Artemisia of Karia, Cleopatra, and Elpindike. The accounts of Aspasia are clear and satisfactory; but it is not decided that Aspasia the midwife was the Aspasia of Pericles. The period at which she lived, the talent she evinced, and the fascinations ascribed to her, have, however, given rise to the conjecture. Artemisia was the Queen who assisted Xerxes so boldly at the battle of Salamis. In his first naval engagement, Xerxes refused to follow her advice; but when misfortune had opened his eyes, he again consulted her. She advised retreat. To the pride of Xerxes, that was too humiliating. When the engagement began, her conduct was so distinguished, that Xerxes, who looked on, said that the only men in the battle were the women. Her boldness drew upon her a hot pursuit, and perceiving herself inadequate to the emergency, she hoisted Grecian colours, and attacked a small Persian ship. The manoeuvre, though only half understood in the confusion of the hour, insured her safety; and Xerxes forgave her treachery in admiration of her genius. Strange as it may seem, this woman was tender and efficient at the bedside of the sick. Cleopatra of Egypt, found time, between her various flirtations, assassinations, and military undertakings, to write several books. Of these, history preserves the names of but two: One was a treatise on Midwifery, the other an Essay on the Art of Dress. In Greece, Elpinike, the daughter of Cimon, and sister of Miltiades, is known to have pursued the same profession. So sacred was the position of a midwife, that at this era, queens, princesses, and priestesses at the altar, did not hesitate to perform its functions, and long after, at the court of France, when the purity of Joan of Arc was called in question, it was not a college of surgeons, but five women of the noblest blood, who made the legal depositions consequent upon examination, which wiped away the aspersions. *Yrotuta* is the earliest among modern midwifes, of whom we find any distinct account. She was born at Salerno, in the middle of the thirteenth century. She published several works, and one of them, "De Mulierum Passionibus," is said to have produced an era in medical literature; but an influence of this kind, exerted before the invention of printing, must of necessity have been very limited.

"It may be said, that in sketching lightly the history of so many Sages Femmes, we have not proved that women have contributed anything to *medical* science. It is easy to see how small a number of women have devoted themselves to it in any single century. They have done it in spite of great difficulties, and amid much opposition; but how much have they accomplished? We forbear to dwell on their rich contributions to both the medical and the general literature of their time. It should be remarked, however, in passing, that these contributions owe what popularity they have to intrinsic merit. They have sought and found the light of day, without the pompous recommendation of institutions, or the forced encouragement of a clique. *Morata's* lectures were not confined to obstetrics; and we have the testimony of physicians themselves, that until the time of Moriceau, not only the ordinary medical authorities, but distinguished men like Sollinger and Guillemeau, depended upon women for the observations from which their theories were deduced. *Mad. Bourgeois* altered the practice of the whole world in the treatment of a large class of hæmorrages. *Mad. Breton* perfected, more than a hundred years ago, a system of artificial nourishment, still in use in France.

Mrs. Blackwell prepared the first illustrated Medical Botany. *Mesdames Ducondray, Biheron and Morandi* independently assisted in perfecting the manikin; and *Biheron* and *Morandi* independently perfected wax preparations. *Mrs. Nihell* and *Mrs. Stone* resisted successfully quackeries which deluded all the faculty of their time. *Mrs. Dunnally*, with the roughest instruments, succeeded in an operation in which twenty-four physicians had failed. *Mad. Rondet* adapted, so that it became of practical benefit, the tube that not all the genius and learning of Chaussier could redeem from inapproachable clumsiness. *Mad. Wittembach* was consulted by all the physicians of her time, and medical science felt and acknowledged her signal ability through all its ramifications. Her interest in it was free from folly or personal weakness, and with her last breath she desired that the result of a post-mortem examination might be forwarded to a scientific friend at Paris.

"We would not be thought, from the facts above presented, to have a narrow or illiberal interest in the education of woman. We do not wish to turn them into a swarm of midwives, or a college of physicians; but we wish the sources of all knowledge to be thrown generously open to them; and we have thought that to inquire what they had already done, might decide the question. "What have they a right to do?" The limit to human acquisition must be set in the greater or less intensity of human desire, and no question of sex can complicate the statement."

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.

IT is known (says the *Literary World*) from the poems of Mrs. Barrett Browning that Miss Mitford is a friend of that refined and spiritual authoress. Among certain "Recollections of a Literary Life," just published in London, Miss Mitford lets the world become acquainted with some of the peculiar shadows of that "fee grief" which dwells throughout many of the subtle, tender, melancholy productions of the author of the "Seraphim." This is the story, as quoted in the *Athenæum*:

"My first acquaintance with Elizabeth Barrett commenced about fifteen years ago. She was certainly one of the most interesting persons that I had ever seen. Everybody who then saw her, said the same; so that it is not merely the impression of my partiality or my enthusiasm. Of a slight, delicate figure, with a shower of dark curls falling on either side of a most expressive face, large tender eyes richly fringed with dark eyelashes, a smile like a sunbeam, and such a look of youthfulness, that I had some difficulty in persuading a friend, in whose carriage we went together to Chiswick, that the translatress of the 'Prometheus' of Æschylus, the authoress of the 'Essay on Mind,' was old enough to be introduced into company, in technical language was *out*. Through the kindness of another invaluable friend, to whom I owe many obligations, but none so great as this, I saw much of her during my stay in town. We went so constantly and so familiarly that in spite of the difference of age intimacy ripened into friendship, and after my return into the country, we corresponded freely and frequently, her letter being just what letters ought to be—her own talk put upon paper. The next year was a painful one to herself and to all who loved her. She broke a blood-vessel upon the lungs, which did not heal. If there had been consumption in the family that disease would have intervened. There were no seeds of the fatal English malady in her constitution, and she escaped. Still, however, the vessel did not heal, and after attending her for above a twelvemonth at her father's house in Wimpole street, Dr. Chambers, on the approach of winter, ordered her to a milder climate. Her eldest brother, a brother in heart and in talent worthy of such a sister, together with other devoted relatives, accompanied her to Torquay, and *there* occurred the fatal event which saddened her bloom of youth, and gave a deeper hue of thought and feeling, especially of devotional feeling, to her poetry. I have so often been asked what could be the shadow that had passed over that young heart, that now that time has softened the first agony it seems to me right that the world should hear the story of an accident in which there was much sorrow, but no blame. Nearly a twelvemonth had passed, and the invalid, still attended by her affectionate companions, had derived much benefit from the mild sea breezes of Devonshire. One fine summer morning her favourite brother, together with two other fine young men, his friends, embarked on board a small sailing vessel for a trip of a few hours. Excellent sailors, all, and familiar with the coast, they sent back the boatmen, and undertook themselves the management of the little craft. Danger was not dreamed of by any one; after the catastrophe no one could divine the cause, but in a few minutes after their embarkation, and in sight of their very windows, just as they were crossing the bar, the boat went down, and all who were in her perished. Even the bodies were never found. I was told by a party who were travelling that year in Devonshire and Cornwall, that it was most affecting to see on the corner houses of every village street, on every church door, and almost on every cliff for miles and miles along the coast, handbills, offering large rewards for linen cast ashore marked with the initials of the beloved dead; for it so chanced that all the three were of the dearest and the best; one, I believe, an only son, the other the son of a widow. This tragedy nearly killed Elizabeth Barrett. She was utterly prostrated by the horror and the grief, and by a natural but a most unjust feeling that she had been in some sort the cause of this great misery. It was not until the following year that she could be removed in an invalid carriage, and by journeys of twenty miles a day, to her afflicted family and her London home. The house that she occupied at Torquay had been chosen as one of the most sheltered in the place. It stood at the bottom of the cliffs almost close to the sea; and she told me herself that during that whole winter the sound of the waves rang in her ears like the moans of one dying. Still she clung to literature and to Greek; in all probability she would have died without that wholesome diversion to her thoughts. Her medical attendant did not always understand this. To prevent the remonstrances of her friendly physician, Dr. Barry, she caused a small edition of Plato to be so bound as to resemble a novel. He did not know, skilful and kind though he were, that to her such books were not an arduous and painful study, but a consolation and a delight. Returned to London, she began the life which she continued for so many years, confined to one large and commodious but darkened chamber, admitting only her own affectionate family and a few devoted friends (I myself have often joyfully travelled five-and-forty miles to see her, and returned the same evening without entering another house); reading almost every book worth reading in almost every language, and giving herself heart and soul to that poetry of which she seemed born to be the priestess. Gradually her health improved. About four years ago she married Mr. Browning, and immediately accompanied him to Pisa. They then settled at Florence; and this summer I have had the exquisite pleasure of seeing her once more in London with a lovely boy at her knee, almost as well as ever, and telling tales of Italian rambles, of losing herself in chestnut forests, and scrambling on mulehack up the sources of extinct volcanoes. May Heaven continue to her such health and such happiness."

[FOR THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD]

The Friend of Humanity.

BY LUCY A. COLBY.

NEVER was a more beautiful picture of Christian charity and benevolence presented to the world than in, the life of Mrs. Eliza Garnaut, an emigrant from Wales to this country. For many years she was connected with the Moral Reform Society in Boston, and afterwards became Matron of the Home for Orphan and Destitute Children. She at last fell a victim to her untiring devotion to others. While watching over the two infants of a woman who had died of cholera, she took the disease, and died the 3d of September, 1849, aged 39 years.

> Why throng those lonely weepers round the door
> Of yonder dwelling this September morn,
> With looks of anguish, as if evermore
> Their breasts were pierced by Sorrow's rankling thorn?
> Why seek they not to banish looks forlorn
> By strolling in the fields and silent woods?
> There gleam the early Autumn's golden corn—
> There blossom flowers in sylvan solitudes
> That make us glad again, e'en in our saddest moods.
>
> For fields and woods and blue skies bending o'er
> Their heads, they have not now a passing thought;
> They've lost a treasure nothing can restore—
> The kind, good friend whose words were ever fraught
> With love—whose clear unerring wisdom taught
> Their wayward feet uo more from Truth to stray.
> O, Nature's brightest forms to them are naught,
> Since ne'er again *Her* smile of gladness may
> Beam like a light from Heaven around their clouded way!
>
> Amid the city's haunts of wo and sin
> An angel visitant she seemed to be:
> Where scarce a ray of light looked kindly in
> Thro' casements dark, she entered fearlessly
> The drear abodes of vice and misery,
> Her purposes of goodness to fulfil,
> And set the bowed with sin and suffering free;
> Undaunted by a thought of fear or ill,
> While thus accomplishing the Heavenly Father's will.
>
> The friendless stranger, homeless and distressed,
> Ne'er looked to her for sympathy in vain;
> Mourners, who felt their lives were all unblest,
> In listening to her words, forgot their pain;
> The bleeding slave escaping from the chain
> She sheltered with her kind and watchful care,
> And the poor, ruined maid, with *frantic* brain,
> Across whose path, with flowers once bright and fair,
> The wily serpent trailed and left his poison there.
>
> But all her deeds of love are ended now:
> Her hands are folded on her pulseless breast—
> Death's seal is set upon her pallid brow!
> Yet not unnoticed sinks she to her rest
> As sinks a star in silence in the West
> The poor will lose her counsel many a day,
> And wander on with care and pain oppressed,
> Henceforth unguided by the tranquil ray
> Of light and love that shown around their lonely way!

JANUARY 10, 1852.

THE BONAPARTES.

LOUIS NAPOLEON may be said to be, in one sense, the legal successor of the Emperor Napoleon. His election, at this time, is doubtless intended by him to be the restoration of the Empire under the Bonaparte dynasty. By the decree, or senatus-consultum, which constituted Napoleon Emperor in 1801, the imperial succession was thus prescribed:

1st. To the lineal heirs male of Napoleon, in the order of primogeniture.

2d. Failing these, to such son or grandson of his brother as Napoleon might designate, and the heirs male of such son or grandson.

3d. To Joseph Bonaparte and his heirs male.

4th. Failing these, to Louis Bonaparte, his heirs male, each in the order of primogeniture.

The only son of Napoleon, the Duke of Reichstadt, died in 1832. Joseph, ex-King of Spain, the eldest brother of Napoleon, known as Count de Survilliers, and who resided for many years in New Jersey, died in 1845, leaving two daughters, but no son. Louis, ex-King of Holland, the father of the present Louis Napoleon, died in 1846, shortly after the escape of the son from the fortress of Ham. Two elder sons of Louis and Hortense died, one in infancy, the other at the age of 27, leaving Louis Napoleon the only survivor, and the last in the prescribed succession.

To this claim of quasi legitimacy it is probable Louis Napoleon alludes in his proclamation to the people of France: "If you believe in the cause of which my name is the symbol, that is, France regenerated by the revolution of '89, and organized by the Emperor, proclaim it," &c.

Jerome, the youngest brother of Napoleon, some time King of Westphalia, has addressed a letter to his nephew "in the name of the memory of my brother, and partaking his horror of civil war," urging a republican and conciliatory policy. Napoleon, a son of Jerome, is or was a member of the French General Assembly.

Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, died at Rome, leaving a numerous family; one of them, the ornithologist, now or lately prominent in the affairs of Rome and Italy. Pierre, another son, figured in the French National Assembly, as also Murat, a son of the King of Naples and Caroline, the sister of Napoleon. One of the daughters of Lucien is the wife of Lord Dudley Stuart, an English nobleman.—*Cincinnati Gazette.*

LOUIS PHILIPPE AND SIR R. PEEL.—About this time, Louis Philippe of Orleans, King of the French, exercised a great influence over the public affairs. This prince had entirely identified himself with the Peel administration. There existed between his majesty and the English minister not only a sentiment of sympathy, but one of reciprocal admiration. Each believed the other the ablest man in their respective countries: their system of government was the same, to divert the public mind from political change by the seduction of physical enjoyment, and to neutralize opinion in the pursuit of material prosperity: finally, they agreed in another point, that their tenure of power was as interminable as the nature of things admitted, and that it was insured by mutual co-operation. No one was more amazed and more alarmed by the breaking up of the conservative government in November, '45, than the King of the French. With the quickness of perception which with him always seemed rather instinct than thought, he instantly trembled before a long vista of war and revolution. His fears of Lord Palmerston were fed by all the diplomacy of Europe, and especially by the connections of the repugnant conservative cabinet, who still hoped that the appointment of that minister might, in conjunction with the domestic weakness of the whig party, yet bring back the game to Sir Robert. . . . . The excitement of the king was very great on the return of Sir Robert Peel to power. His majesty looked upon all the intervening incidents which had occasioned him so much disquiet and perplexity merely as dexterous tactics preliminary to a crowning triumph. He thought that the sovereign, the parliament, and the nation had combined to give the minister *carte blanche*. A member of the British parliament who was then at Paris presumed, with great humility, to question the justness of the royal conclusions. "Do you not think then," said the king, "that Sir Robert Peel will carry his measures?" "Yes, sir." "And what then? Who is to turn him out?" Lord John Russell has had the offer, and has refused. I can tell you, the Duke of Wellington says, the government is established. I remember," the king added, with a smile of confidence, "when they said that Mr. Pitt would not remain in for six weeks, and he was the minister for twenty years." The confidence of his majesty in the star of Sir Robert Peel remained unfaltering until, at Easter, he was apprized, from a quarter that could not be deceived, that the administration tottered.—*Disraeli's Life of Lord George Bentinck.*